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I Found It at the JCB



I Found It at the JCB

Scholars and Sources

*Published on the Occasion of
the Sesquicentennial Celebration
of the Founding of the
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Endowed Fellowships

JEANNETTE D. BLACK

MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP FUND

Established in 1984 with an initial gift by Mr. Thomas Black III and the Horace A. Kimball and S. Ella Kimball Foundation, the fund was supplemented by additional gifts from many friends of Jeannette Black. The fund supports research at the Library on the history of cartography and related areas.

HELEN WATSON BUCKNER

MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

Established in 1995 by Mary Buckner Shea and her husband Robert Shea in memory of Mrs. Shea's mother, the fund supports historical research in any area related to the Library's holdings.

MARIA ELENA CASSIET FUND

Established in 1984 by Dr. Alfredo Cassiet and his wife Maria Elena, the fund supports research at the Library by scholars from Spanish America.

RUTH AND LINCOLN EKSTROM FELLOWSHIP

Established in 1993 by Mr. and Mrs. Ekstrom, the fund supports research on the history of women and the family in the Americas prior to 1825.

PAUL W. MCQUILLEN

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Established in 1986 by Charles H. Watts II in memory of his father-in-law, the fund supports historical research in any area related to the Library's holdings.

BARBARA MOSBACHER FELLOWSHIP

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J. M. STUART FELLOWSHIP

Established by James Milton Stuart and supplemented after his death by donations from members of his family and by friends, the fund provides support for nine months for a Brown University graduate student at the dissertation-writing stage, whose research makes use to some degree of the resources of the John Carter Brown Library.

ALEXANDER O. VIETOR

MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

Established by Mrs. Alexander O. Vietor in 1989 in memory of her husband, the fund supports research at the Library on maritime history.

CHARLES H. WATTS

MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

Established in 1986 by Charles H. Watts II in memory of his father, the fund supports historical research in any area related to the Library's holdings.



Introduction

ARISTOTLE ARGUED long ago that human beings inherently want to “know,” are inveterately curious about the world and each other. Although today much of higher education is justified in instrumental or utilitarian terms—universities exist, some would say, primarily to advance practical matters, such as improving society, improving health, making war and defense more effective—the fact is, such is the drive for pure understanding in Western culture that means would be found to institutionalize inquiry whether or not there was a demonstrably “useful” outcome.

The disinterested urge to know, which has been such a powerful force in the West, has always included the searching of the past, sometimes in a quest for wisdom, sometimes in order to bring judgment. However practical or enlightening the result, the very process of historical study deepens our understanding of human affairs, enlarges our experience, and should indeed make us a bit wiser.

The establishment of libraries designed to house the original records of human endeavor is the natural outcome of our belief in the vital, the sacred, importance of maintaining and preserving our access to the past as a lifeline, as it were, to the full range of human possibilities.

The ideal at the John Carter Brown Library from its earliest origins has been to bring together the sources, i.e., the books, and the people who to advance their work need to consult them. We have records at the Library going back to the 1830s of George Bancroft (1800–91), sometimes referred to as the “Father of American History,” borrowing books from John Carter Brown’s library, and by 1865 John Carter Brown

already had published a printed catalogue of the collection, the first of a series intended to serve as “a guide to the collector and the historical student.”

Yet this ideal of uniting the visiting scholar and the collection remained informal until 1962, when the Library first actively sponsored research fellowships. The justification for fellowships is easily drawn. Repositories in the United States with concentrated holdings of rare books, in many cases books that have survived in only a few copies and those few found mostly in scattered locations overseas, are essential resources for scholarly research. Yet for a scholar to travel to such a repository and remain there reading for months at a time can be prohibitively costly. Fellowship stipends typically meet that expense, of maintaining a residence away from home.

The JCB’s “first” fellowship program continued until 1972, supported primarily by donations from the Committee of Management of the Library, now known as the Board of Governors. In the ten year period between 1962 and 1972, 37 fellowship awards were made. The program was surely a success in that the scholars were well chosen and learning was advanced, but it eventually lapsed for lack of permanent funding.

In 1982–83, the JCB’s “second” fellowship program was inaugurated with a more ambitious agenda. The new goal included effecting the convenient meeting of sources and scholars, as before, but it also was intended to bring together scholar with scholar, to establish the John Carter Brown Library, in other words, not only as a repository to which isolated readers would come but also as a full-fledged center for advanced research.

In this plan, which has been fully established for more than a decade, the Library appoints approximately twenty fellows a year, for periods of time ranging from two months to ten months, and nearly always has in residence six or seven fellows, enough to nourish a real sense of intellectual community. The individual members of the community are always changing as the months go by, but the community continues, interlocked from month to month, without interruption throughout the year.

A center for advanced study requires a physical facility that will enable fellows to congregate easily in the building, and it requires also office space for those in long-term residence. This end was achieved with the opening of the Caspersen wing of the Library in 1991.

A basic anchor of the research community at the JCB is our "Wednesday lunch," which is convened summer and winter and which has been meeting since 1983. At this luncheon, fellows and other researchers at the Library have a regular opportunity to present work-in-progress to their peers.

The "second" fellowship program was initially supported out of operating funds, but gradually endowment gifts were secured for this special purpose. Today, thanks to the generosity of the donors, the Library has nine restricted endowments for fellowships, which are listed above. Nearly \$1 million is currently invested for fellowships at the JCB.

In addition to these endowments, which will exist in perpetuity, the Library has been fortunate to receive annual grant support for fellowships from a number of different foundations, both in the United States and abroad. The most important of these is the National Endowment for the Humanities, an agency of the Federal government, which in recent years has been supporting three six-month fellowships at the Library. The Library also receives on-going support from the Lampadia Foundation, for a ten-month fellowship open to scholars teaching in Argentina, Brazil, or Chile, and from

the Touro National Heritage Trust, for a scholar studying the history of the Jewish experience in the Americas before ca. 1840.

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon has been generous in its support of JCB fellows coming from Portugal, and the Fundación Mapfre America has supported fellows from Spain. For six years, the Library also received support for fellowships from the Tinker Foundation.

Between July 1, 1982, and June 1, 1996, the Library has had in residence some 250 fellows. They have come from nearly every state in the union and 29 foreign countries. Some 30 percent of the fellows have been graduate students and 40 percent have been foreign nationals.

Everyone on the JCB staff is affected by the program and is close to it, formally and informally. Staff and fellows share the same building, gather intermixed in the staff lounge, attend parties and other events together. For the time a fellow is with us, in short, he or she is part of the JCB family.

When we started thinking about an appropriate publication to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the JCB in 1846, a publication that would demonstrate the vitality of the Library and its services to scholarship worldwide, our Curator of Maps and Prints, and Assistant Librarian, Susan Danforth, and our Reference Librarian, Daniel J. Slive, came up with the notion of asking all of our former fellows to send in essays about a book or map found here that was particularly important to their research. As the book before you testifies, we received a solid response to this call, and remarkably, without planning or design the titles discussed just happen to be reasonably representative of the collection as a whole. There are salient omissions, of course, but the reader may still get a flavor of what the JCB contains.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the former fellows who took time from busy schedules to write an essay for this anniversary book. The very brief identification of

the author of each essay does not do justice to these contributors, since we deliberately excluded information about the published works of these active scholars. There are books and articles galore that could have been mentioned, but since the Library brings out from time to time a printed list of "Publications by Fellows, Based in Whole or Part on Research at the JCB," to include such information here seemed an unnecessary complication for a book that is already rather complicated and that had to be produced by a particular deadline.

A collection of rare and precious books around which are gathered continuously a substantial group of scholars represents more a medieval than a modern ideal. Some "futurists" today envision a world of electronic texts only, with individuals mainly tele-communicating. There is certainly room for both ideals to co-exist, but it should be understood that at the JCB this purported "future" is second best. The concrete object descended intact from the past, i.e., the book printed in 1520 or 1620, is not just a "text": it is text and context together. This is the ultimate hard evidence from "back then," not the everyday but the special resource for study.

Similarly, the daily face-to-face gathering of scholars generates its own synergy that I have witnessed many times. When, periodically—one can not predict such confluences—the fellows in residence coalesce with particular harmony, one can feel the resonance in the building. Such moments—and these may be long moments, lasting for months—are essential for intellectual growth and new ideas. We grow only by intellectual exchange, and yet it is not always easy for scholars to find that exchange.

In the *Name of the Rose*, the novelist Umberto Eco imagines the books at night, in the monastic library where the action occurs, talking to each other. This is only partly fantasy since in truth there can hardly be a book without other books that

came before. All books allude to each other, and at the JCB, which is a highly focused and concentrated library, concerned only with some 325 years of history, all pertaining to the Western Hemisphere and its surrounding oceans, this nighttime conversation must be loud and active indeed. But leaving aside the fantasy of the books talking to each other, we know for certain that the books have talked to our fellows, as we hope that this book will talk to you.

I wish to conclude by acknowledging the invaluable and intelligent editorial work that Mrs. Breffny Walsh contributed to this volume and to recognize prominently here the work of the Library's photographer, Richard Hurley, who has been on the staff for twenty-three years. All of the illustrations in this book are the product of his camera.

NORMAN FIERING
Director and Librarian

A note on the organization of this book

The essays in this volume appear in the order of the publication date of the Library book under discussion, from 1511 to 1937. An author/title alphabetical list of the sixty-one books discussed, immediately follows this introduction. A list of the contributors to the volume, in alphabetical order, is also in the frontmatter that follows. At the very end of the volume, we have listed all JCB fellows from the beginning of the program in 1962 to the summer of 1996.



List of Authors and Titles Discussed

ABREU DE GALINDO, JUAN DE.

The history of the discovery and conquest of the Canary Islands. London, 1764

John Kicza

An account of the cruelties exercis'd by the Inquisition in Portugal. London, 1708

Anita Novinsky

ALVA, BARTOLOMÉ DE.

Confessionario mayor, y menor en lengua mexicana. Mexico, 1634

Barry D. Sell

ANGHIERA, PIETRO MARTIRE D'.

Opera: Legatio Babylonica Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata. Seville, 1511

Stelio Cro

ARFEUILLE, NICOLAS DE NICOLAY, SIEUR D'.

La navigation du roy d'Escosse Iaques cinquièsme du nom. Paris, 1583

G. Steve Ritchie

ARRIAGA, PABLO JOSÉ DE.

Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru. Lima, 1621

Rodrigo Cánovas

AVILA, FRANCISCO DE.

Tratado de los Evangelios, que nuestra madre la Iglesia propone en todo el año. Lima, 1646–48

Teodoro Hampe-Martínez

AYRES DE CASAL, MANUEL.

Corografia brazilica, ou Relação historico-geografica do reino do Brazil.

Rio de Janeiro, 1817

Shawn W. Miller

BENZONI, GIROLAMO.

De historie, van de Nieuwe Weerelt.

Haarlem, 1610

Benjamin Schmidt

BISHOP, GEORGE.

New England Judged, Not by Man's, but by the Spirit of the Lord. London, 1661–1667

Carla G. Pestana

BLACKSTONE, SIR WILLIAM.

Commentaries on the laws of England in four books. Philadelphia, 1771–1772

Alexander A. Sergounin

CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Tercero cathecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana. Lima, 1585

Julie Greer Johnson

Certain inducements to well minded people, who are here straitned in their estates or otherwise: or such as are willing out of noble and publike principles, to transport themselves, or some servants, or agents for them into the West-Indies, for the propagating of the Gospel and increase of trade. London, 1643?

Karen Ordahl Kupperman

CIEZA DE LEÓN, PEDRO DE.

Parte primera de la Chronica del Peru. Seville, 1553

Joan-Pau Rubiés

COLÓN, FERNANDO.

Historie del sig. don Fernando Colombo.

Nelle quali s'hà particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell'ammiraglio don Christoforo Colombo suo padre. Milano, 1614

John Larner

CORONELLI, VINCENZO.

Palestra litteraria [2nd ed. of *Libro dei Globi*]. Venice, ca. 1705

James Fuchs

CRASHAW, WILLIAM.

A sermon preached in London before the Right Honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of His Maiesties counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the aduenturers in that plantation. London, 1610

Juan E. Tazón

DU TERTRE, JEAN BAPTISTE.

Histoire generale des Antilles. Paris, 1667–1671

Philip P. Boucher

EQUIANO, OLAUDAH.

The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. London, 1789

Vincent Carretta

FERIA, PEDRO DE.

Doctrina christiana en lengua castellana y çapoteca. Mexico, 1567
Judith Francis Zeitlin

GILBERTI, MATURINO.

Arte de la le[n]gua de Michuaca[n].
Mexico City, 1558
J. Benedict Warren

GONZÁLEZ CAÑAVERAS, JUAN ANTONIO.

Planisferio ó Carta General de la Tierra.
Madrid, 1800
W. Michael Mathes

GREAT BRITAIN.

Convention between His Britannick Majesty and the King of Spain, Signed at London, the 14th of July, 1786. London, 1786
Roger J. B. Knight

GREAT BRITAIN.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to enquire into the causes of the outbreak of scurvy in the recent Arctic expedition. London, [1877]
G. Steve Ritchie

Haïti, ou Renseignemens authentiques sur l'abolition de l'esclavage et ses résultats à Saint-Domingue et à la Guadeloupe. Paris, 1835
Julie Winch

ITALY. R. COMMISSIONE COLOMBIANA.
Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati della R. Commissione colombiana, pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell'America.
Rome, 1892–1896
Foster Provost

JAN, ZE STOBNICY.

Introductio in Ptholomei cosmographia[m] cu[m] longitudinibus regionum [et] civitatum celebriorum. Cracow, 1512
Jadwiga Bzinkowska

Jubilos da América, na gloriosa exaltação, e promoção do illustrissimo e excellentissimo Senhor Gomes Freire de Andrada. Lisbon, 1754
Ernst Pijning

La justicia en defensa de la verdad. Santiago, Chile, 1817
Maria Ligia Coelho Prado

LAHONTAN, LOUIS ARMAND DE LOM D'ARCE, BARON DE.

Nouveaux voyages de M. Le Baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.
The Hague, 1703
Nanette Le Coat

LECHFORD, THOMAS.

Plain dealing, or news from New-England.
London, 1642
Alan Cromartie

LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA, FRANCISCO.

La historia general de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo, con mas la conquista del Peru y de Mexico. Saragossa, 1554
Nora Edith Jiménez

LUBIN, AUGUSTIN.

Orbis Augustinianus sive conventuum ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini chorographica et topographica descriptio. Paris, 1659
Edward Schnayder

MONSON, SIR WILLIAM.

Naval tracts. London, 1703
Jerzy Litwin

MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY, MÉDERIC-LOUIS-ÉLIE.

Danse. Philadelphia, 1796
Edward Widmer

NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR.

La relación que dio Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por governador Pa[n]philo de Narbáez, desde el año de veynte y siete hasta el año d[e] treynta y seys que bolvió a Sevilla con tres de su compañía. Zamora, 1542
Rolena Adorno

“The Milk Has Not Curdled” [Officer's journal of the proceedings of the Dutch merchant ship Arents Bergh of Amsterdam]. [1714–1715]
Wim Klooster

ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM.

Thesaurus geographicus. Antwerp, 1596
James Romm

PALAFox y MENDOZA, JUAN DE.

Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo, y venerable siervo de Dios don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Madrid, 1762
Francesco Donnini

PEIREIRA, ANTONIO.

[North and South America]. [Portugal, ca. 1546]
Karol Lawson

PERALTA BARNUEVO, PEDRO DE.

Júbilos de Lima y fiestas reales. Lima, 1723
José Antonio Mazzotti

PITMAN, HENRY.

A relation of the great sufferings and strange adventures of Henry Pitman, chyrurgion to the late Duke of Monmouth. London, 1689
Meredith Baldwin Weddle

PLAUTIUS, CASPAR

(pseud. Honorius Philoponus).

Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio.

Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis. Linz, 1621

Herbert Knust

RAND, WILLIAM.

The late religious commotions in New-

England considered. Boston, 1743

Edwin Gaustad

ROGERS, JOHN.

A mid-night-cry from the temple of God to the

ten virgins slumbering and sleeping; awake,

awake, arise, and gird your loyns, and trim your

lamps, for behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye

therefore out to meet him. New London, [1722]

Sergei Ivanovich Zhuk

ROGERS, ROBERT.

Ponteach: or The savages of America. A tragedy.

London, 1766

Michael J. Mullin

SAGARD, GABRIEL.

Le grand voyage du pays des hurons, situé en

l'Amérique vers la mer douce, és derniers

confins de la Nouvelle France, dite

Canada... Avec un dictionnaire de la langue

huronne, pour la commodité de ceux qui ont à

voyager dans le pays, & n'ont l'intelligence

d'icelle langue. Paris, 1632

Lieve Jooken

SAHAGÚN, BERNARDINO DE.

Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de los

sanctos del año, en lengua mexicana.

Mexico, 1583

Louise M. Burkhart

SCHOUTEN, WILLEM CORNELISZON.

Journal ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke

reyse ghedaen door... Schouten... bezuyden de

Strate van Magellanes. Amsterdam, 1618

William Eisler

STADEN, HANS.

Wahrhafftig Historia und Beschreibung

eyner Landtschafft. Marburg, 1557 and

Frankfurt, [1557?]

Urs Bitterli

STEDMAN, JOHN GABRIEL.

Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against

the revolted Negroes of Surinam. London, 1796

Mordechai Arbell

TAPIA, DIEGO DE.

Confessionario en lengua cumanagota y de

otras naciones de indios de la provincia de

Cumana. Madrid, 1723

Carlos A. Mayo

The tea-tax tempest, or the Anglo-American

Revolution. 1774?

Bruce Lenman

TELLO, ANTONIO.

Chronica miscelanea. Jalisco, Mexico, 1653

Carmen Castañeda

THÉVENOT, MELCHISÉDECH.

Recueil de voyages. Paris, 1681

(The Marquette map)

Frans Koks

THOMSON, CHARLES.

An enquiry into the causes of the alienation of

the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the

British interest. London, 1759

Francis Jennings

VAUGHAN, SIR WILLIAM.

The Newlanders cure. As well of those violent

sicknesses which distemper most minds in

these latter dayes: as also by a cheape and

newfound dyet, to preserve the body sound and

free from all diseases, untill the last date of

life, through extreamity of age. London, 1630

David Rosen

VELAZQUEZ DE OVANDO Y ZARATE,

GUTIERRE.

Memorial por via de disceptacion... en favor

de los naturales originarios benemeritos de las

provincias indianas, assi españoles, como

Indios. [Lima?, 1658?]

Monica Barnes

WILLIAMS, ROGER.

George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes.

Boston, 1676

David S. Lovejoy

Worcester Magazine. Worcester, 1786–1788

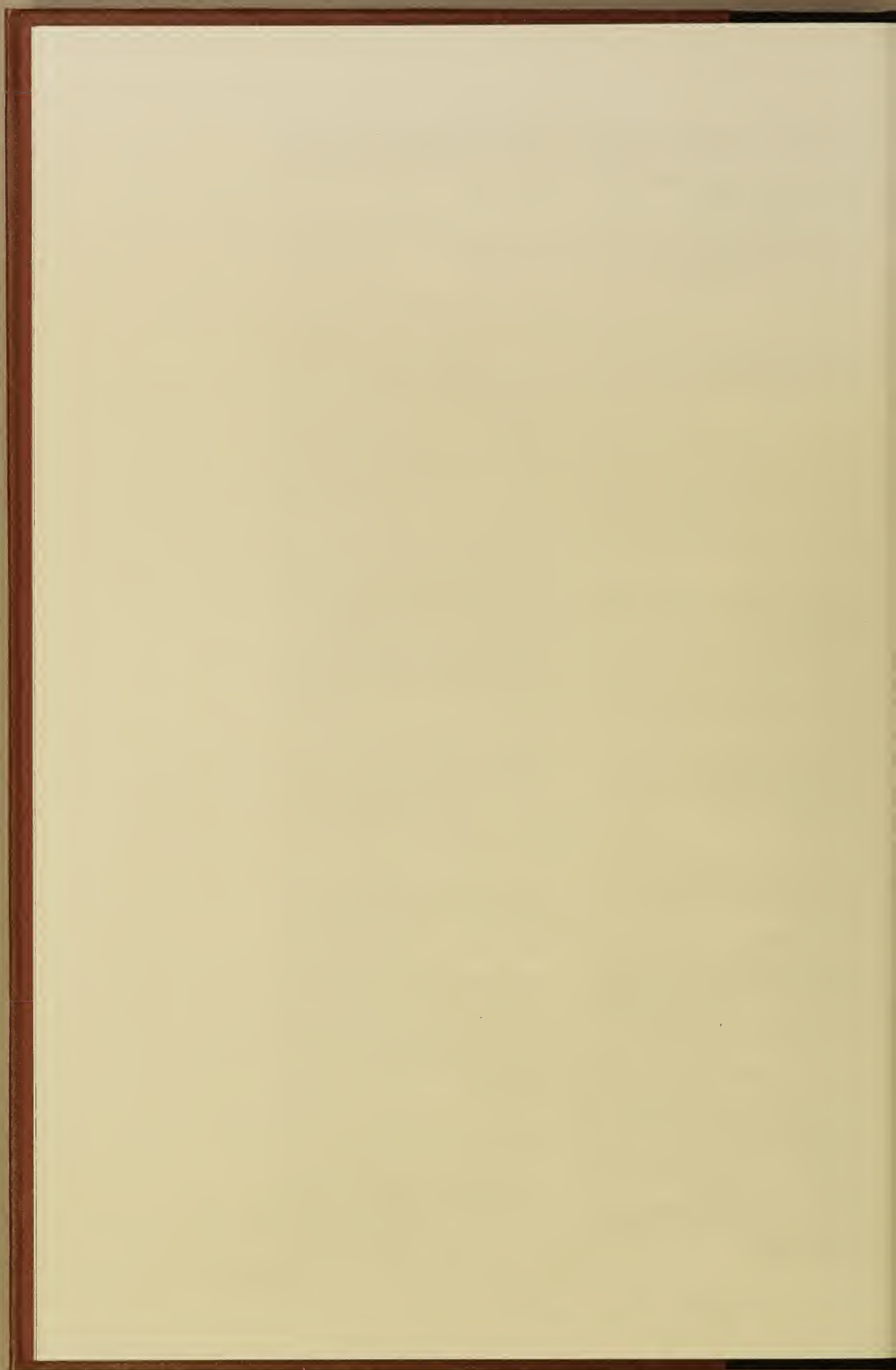
George E. Connor

WROTH, LAWRENCE C.

The way of a ship: an essay on the literature

of navigation science. Portland, 1937

Robert Foulke



List of Contributors to this Volume

- Adorno, Rolena + 1542
Arbell, Mordechai + 1796
Barnes, Monica + 1658
Bitterli, Urs + 1557
Boucher, Philip P. + 1667
Burkhart, Louise M. + 1583
Bzinkowska, Jadwiga + 1512
Cánovas, Rodrigo + 1621
Carretta, Vincent + 1789
Castañeda, Carmen + 1653
Connor, George E. + 1786–88
Cro, Stelio + 1511
Cromartie, Alan + 1642
Donnini, Francesco + 1762
Eisler, William + 1618
Foulke, Robert + 1937
Fuchs, James + 1705
Gaustad, Edwin + 1743
Hampe-Martínez, Teodoro + 1646
Jennings, Francis + 1759
Jiménez, Nora Edith + 1554
Johnson, Julie Greer + 1585
Jooker, Lieve + 1632
Kicza, John + 1764
Klooster, Wim + 1714
Knight, Roger J. B. + 1786
Knust, Herbert + 1621
Koks, Frans + 1681
Kupperman, Karen Ordahl + 1643
Larner, John + 1614
Lawson, Karol + 1546
Le Coat, Nanette + 1703
Lenman, Bruce + 1774
Litwin, Jerzy + 1703
Lovejoy, David + 1676
Mathes, W. Michael + 1800
Mayo, Carlos + 1723
Mazzotti, José Antonio + 1723
Miller, Shawn W. + 1817
Mullin, Michael J. + 1766
Novinsky, Anita + 1708
Pestana, Carla G. + 1661
Pijning, Ernst + 1754
Prado, Maria Ligia Coelho + 1817
Provost, Foster + 1892
Ritchie, G. Steve + 1583 & 1877
Romm, James + 1596
Rosen, David + 1630
Rubiés, Joan-Pau + 1553
Schmidt, Benjamin + 1565
Schnayder, Edward + 1659
Sell, Barry + 1634
Sergounin, Alexander A. + 1771–72
Tazón, Juan E. + 1609
Warren, J. Benedict + 1558
Weddle, Meredith B. + 1689
Widmer, Edward + 1796
Winch, Julie + 1835
Zeitlin, Judith Francis + 1567
Zhuk, Sergei + 1721



I Found It at the JCB

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera.
*Opera: Legatio babylonica Oceani
decas Poemata Epigrammata*

(Seville: J. Cromberger, 1511)

by STELIO CRO

THE COMPLETE TITLE of the first edition of the first history of the discovery of America reads as follows: "P. Martyris Angli mediolanensis opera Legatio babylonica Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata Cum preuilegio." Seville, 1511. This is the first edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, the first official history of the discovery of the New World. It includes the "First Decade" (the *De Orbe Novo* would include by the time the 1530 edition was published in Alcalá, eight Decades), the *Legatio* (an account of Peter Martyr's diplomatic mission to the Sultan of Egypt on behalf of the Catholic Kings of Spain), the *Poemata* (his collection of Latin poems) and the *Epigrammata* (short verse compositions dedicated to various friends and associates). The book includes a map which, almost certainly, is the first map drawn by Columbus after his first voyage. This edition is very rare and its value for my research consisted in the interpretation by both Peter Martyr and his editor, Antonio de Nebrija, the great Spanish humanist, a personal friend of Peter Martyr. Nebrija was the author of the first Spanish grammar, the *Gramática Castellana*, published in 1492, which was the first grammar of a Romance Language. Nebrija's edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* in 1511 incorporated the first news from the New World, the novelty of phenomena, people, animals, and plants, often described with new words, Latin neologisms, incorporating and/or translating the native words. By including these words in the first edition of the first history of the New World,

Peter Martyr and Antonio de Nebrija, who purportedly published the book against the author's wishes, gave us the key to interpreting their method of researching for the news, selecting the most essential and valuable information, and beginning the work of assessing and distinguishing truth from fiction from the countless data which explorers, soldiers, and missionaries sent to the Spanish court where Peter Martyr, as the official chronicler of the Spanish kings, attempted to organize the material into a coherent story. Nebrija's preface contains a number of variants with his subsequent edition of 1516 (which is expanded to include the first three Decades). The list of native American words placed at the end of the volume with their Latin translation and explanation is in itself the first document of a cultural encounter between Europe and the New World. My research for the preparation of a new critical edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* has been decisively enhanced by the direct examination of this book. It was only one of hundreds of volumes I consulted while researching at the John Carter Brown Library, but it certainly stands out as firsthand evidence in my effort to understand the scholarly mind of the first historian of the New World.

Stelio Cro was a Library fellow in 1993. At the time of his application he was a professor in the Department of Modern Languages at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, a position which he continues to hold.

C. P. Martyris angli Mediolanensis

protonotarij apostolici Regij consiliarij legatio babylonica.
Ad illustrissimū fratrem Franciscum rimenū Archiepiscopū
Toletanū Cardinale: hispaniarū primatē prelatio.



Insitum esse a natura cunctis ani

mantibus: ut posteritatis desiderio sobolem a se procreatā
sūm opere diligant: formosiq; aliqd ad orbis decorē (quom
quid ediderint) genuisse arbitrentur: et sapiētū sententia et ex
perimento perpetuo cōprobatū est. Nec abest a tabachea
simia prole suam oculis omniūz illam spectantium ridiculā
speciosissimam esse credere. Haud aliter poetis accidit et ora
toribus scribere aliquid aggredientib; ebuliente presertim

illo recenti quo sufflati agitantur feruore. Quorū hebetes etiam et inepti: ut quisq;
sibi titillanti errore obcecatus futuras suas iucundas esse presentit: ita sensib; alio
rum librari eas putant: eadē ve ceteros quā ipsi nebula offuscantur esse circūseptos
adiudicāt. Quorsum hec dices firmissime nostre fidei postis: si placidas aures ad
hibueris intelliges. Europam vniuersam ab hispanis finibus per insularū hellespō
to adiacentium prospectum. Asia non penitus intacta affrice partē peragrans que
memoratu digna videbantur scripti tabam. illaq; mihi recens fetura adeo place
bat: ut ex itinere simplicib; eā tribus epistolis ad catholicos Regem et Reginam:
qui me destinarāt oratorē mittere nō dubitari. Verū enim vero ex quo in hispaniā
pedem retuli: in abditū quēdā angulum libelli eius Archiepēpi (qui apud me litu
rati permanserāt) proiecti ad hoc vsq; tempus: quo tu purpurate pnceps: ut in lu
cē ereant. imperasti: latuerūt. nunc autē quō quid peperim: tanq; ad parētē post tri
ennium rure redeūtes infantē cogar recognoscere: fercimētū quoddam rancidulum
aut salsamētū genus ex varijs iniectione allio tam siluestribus q; hortēsi bus herbis ru
sticani stomachi aut hepatis obtusi cibaria mihi video: contudisse. Tripistolum
igitur centonicum hoc nrm tu qui delicatis a lautis epulis ab vnguiculis pmissis sto
machum assuefecisti: q̄lecumq; est (quādoquidem ita vis) accipito. Hoc tamen v
num scias velim: me nihil vnq; ex ijs que domi aliquñ cuderim sine rubore ac metu
emississe. quū ex mea officina quid prodire queat valde cognoscā. Multo enī ma
gis occipitalem eruditorū castigationē timeo: et iuidorū tela perhorresco q; amico
applausibus erigar: aut vlla cōmendatione exhilarari animū sentiā. tibi igit istud
habeto. vale.

P. Martyr anglus Mediolanēsis Fernan

do et Elisabeth regibus qui eum ad venetos et soldanū oratorem destinauerant.



Regio conspectu vro catholici principes quō destinat; orator ad ve
netos: deinde ad soldanum babylonicū ad discessum me iam accinge
rē: ut que memoratu digna sese offerrent: que ve mihi acciderent et la
tineret retro scriberem: pari monitu imperastis. Quam obrez tū vri im
perij memor: tū quia Latonis illud vbi ait in initio sui libri de origi
nibus: non minus otij q; negotij rationem ostendi oportere sepe subeat in mentē: bre
uib; epistolis tribus ex itinere quedam de is que mihi occurrebant vobis signi

a iii

Jan, ze Stobnicy.

*Introductio in Ptholomei cosmographia[m]
cu[m] longitudinibus regionum [et] civitatum
celebriorum*

(Cracow: F. Ungler, 1512)

by JADWIGA BZINKOWSKA

I FOUND IN THE John Carter Brown Library collection a very rare map, the first map printed in Poland, which is the map of the hemispheres associated with John of Stobnica (or Stobnicy) printed in 1512. Only 3 copies of this map are known. There is a copy in the National Library in Vienna, possibly one in the State Library in Munich (although I have not checked whether the copy in Munich has been preserved), and the third in the John Carter Brown Library. The map of the hemispheres was attached to the university textbook of John of Stobnica, professor in the Arts faculty in the Cracow Academy, *Introductio in Ptholomei cosmographia[m] cu[m] longitudinibus regionum [et] civitatum celebriorum*, Cracow: Florian Ungler, 1512. This text-book was a commentary on Claudius Ptolemaeus's famous "Geography," in which Stobnica acquainted the students with mathematical principles for map construction and geographic description. Although Ptolemy worked in the second century, Stobnica's cosmography is an up-to-date picture of the world, complete with the newest information taken from the accounts of Amerigo Vespucci and from the work of Martin Waldseemüller, "Cosmographiae introductio" (1507).

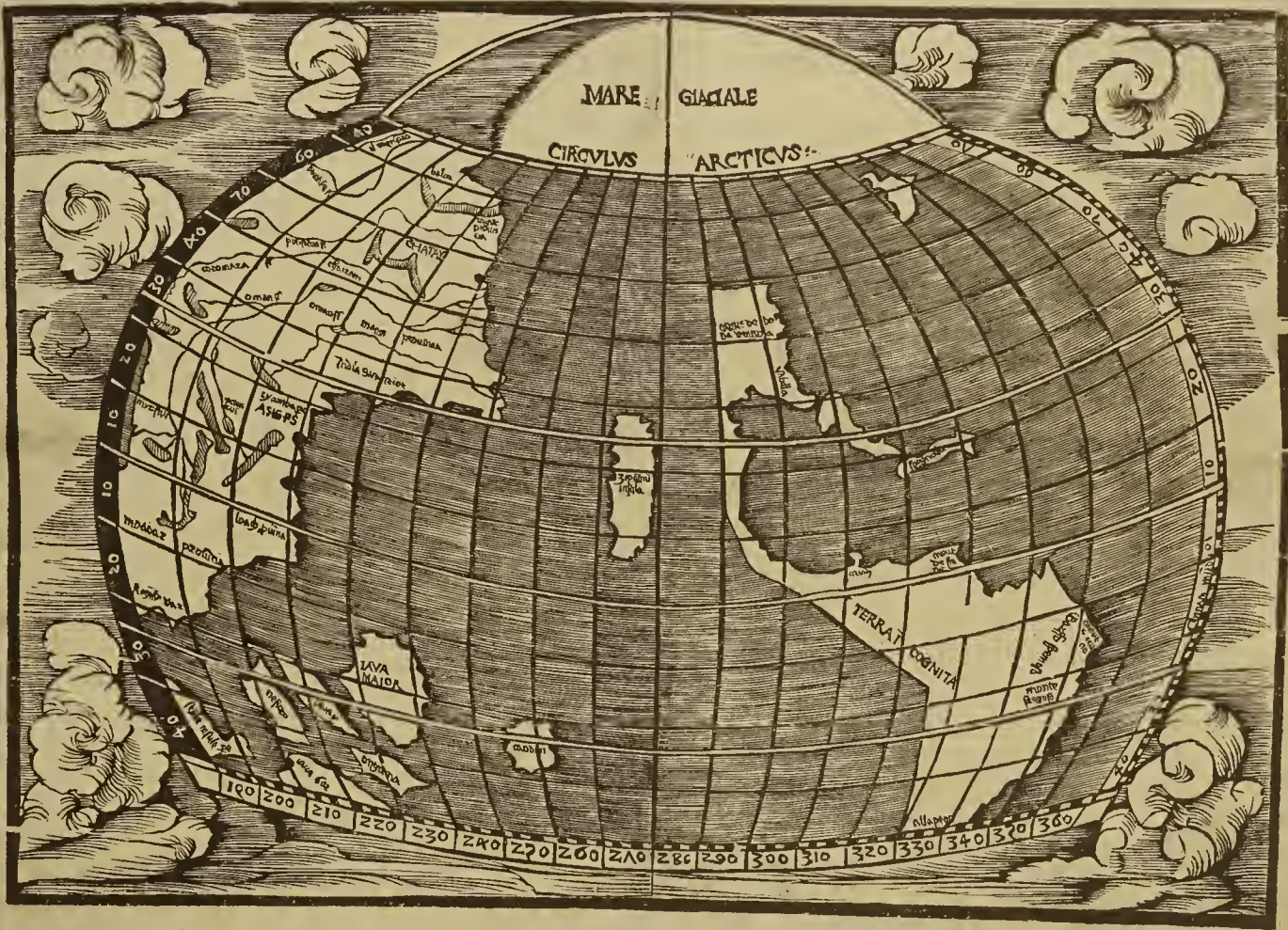
Until 1901, Stobnica's map had been considered the oldest printed map with the name America on it. Stobnica's relationship to the latest developments in European science was not accidental. It is possible that in about 1510 he spent some time in Germany or France, copied the vignette with the map of the hemispheres from Waldseemüller's great map of the world, and could even have met Waldseemüller personally.

Through some misfortune, Stobnica's map, the Cracow print, was not preserved in the copy of the *Introductio* in the Jagiellonian Library, or in Cracow, or anywhere in Poland. In the 19th century, Tadeusz Estreicher, chemist, later professor of the University and son of Karol Estreicher, creator of the Polish national bibliography, corresponded with H. Harrisse regarding Stobnica's map and received from him in 1892 a facsimile of the map with Harrisse's remark written in his own hand. Under Harrisse's note Tadeusz Estreicher wrote: "This facsimile was sent to me by H. Harrisse in July 1892. It is excerpted from his work 'The Discovery of North America' London 1892. Facsimile of the whole map is in the work of A. E. Nordenskiöld [*Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, Stockholm 1889]. In this copy of *Introductio* this extremely important map for the development of American cartography is missing."

Below, in a footnote, Estreicher wrote: "Among other things it presents for the first time the real means of connection between North and South Americas, that is, through the Isthmus of Panama; other earlier maps and even the later ones have a strait."

The 19th-century facsimile copy of the map from Harrisse's work, sent to Tadeusz Estreicher on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, has been preserved.

Jadwiga Bzinkowska was a Jeannette Black Fellow in the fall of 1985. At the time of her application she was a librarian at the Jagiellonian Library, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, a position which Dr. Bzinkowska still retains.



Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.

La relación que dio Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por governador Pa[n]philo de Narbáez, desde el año de veynte y siete hasta el año d[e] treynta y seys que bolvió a Sevilla con tres de su compañía

(Zamora: Agustín de Paz and Juan Picardo, for Juan Pedro Musetti, 1542)

by ROLENA ADORNO

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY holds one of only three reported copies of the original 1542 edition of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* or account of his experience as royal treasurer on the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition (1527) to conquer "Florida," which in the 1520s meant the rim of the gulf of Mexico from the Florida cape to the Río de las Palmas. The fame of the work—known as *Naufragios* ("shipwrecks," or "calamities") since its second (1555) edition, heralded as the account of the first Europeans in the southwestern United States and acclaimed for its miraculous or shamanistic accounts of curing—flourishes to this day with fictionalizations in film and novelistic prose as well as innumerable popular editions of the work in Spanish (at least 44 have appeared since 1922) and many translations.

In paradoxical juxtaposition to the renown of the work is the general ignorance of its 1542 publication; indeed, a Spanish scholar in the mid-1980s assured his readers that the 1555 edition was the first. In 1985 I examined the JCB's 1542 (Zamora) imprint alongside its copy of the 1555 (Valadolid) edition. While the first is a somewhat hastily filed, unbroken report prepared for the emperor as part of the author's solicitation of a future royal contract, the second, divided into titled chapters and generally enhancing the author's protagonism of events told somewhat differently in the earlier version, came at the end of Cabeza de Vaca's Indies career and was accompanied by his secretary's account of his Río de la Plata governorship (1540–45).

The two printed versions thus correspond to two distinct conceptualizations of the work, with the 1542 conveying all the urgency of the Castilian *caballero* in pursuit of immediate recognition by the crown when his sole claim to prior exemplary service had been his survival for eight years (1528–36) in the unknown lands to the north of New Spain.

The rarity of the first edition, as well as its distinctive character as a lengthy, urgent petition to the emperor, made its fresh publication a scholarly desideratum. In 1991 I invited a young Princeton graduate, Patrick C. Pautz, to be my co-editor on the project. Together we have produced the first modern Spanish edition of the 1542 work as well as a new English translation and set of related original essays. "Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His 'account,' his life and the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez" (forthcoming from the University of Nebraska Press) should serve not only to make available for the first time Cabeza de Vaca's original published version of his *relación* but also to illuminate the world of sixteenth-century Castilian conquistadores whose familial roots were anchored in the "reconquest" of southern Spain from the Muslims and in military actions in the Mediterranean, and whose own dreams of seigneurial prestige and economic prosperity led them westward to the Indies.

Rolena Adorno was a research fellow at the Library in 1985–86. At the time of her appointment she was teaching at Syracuse University and is currently a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Yale University.



ELa relacion que dio Aluar nu-
 ñez cabeza de vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias
 en la armada donde yua por gouernador pã
 philo de narbacz desde el año de veynte
 y siete hasta el año d treynta y feys
 que boluio a Seuilla con tres
 de su compañía.:

Es de DON LUCAS JOSEPH DE ELIZONDO LOPEZ DE LOS ARGOS.

Antonio Peireira.
[*North and South America*]

([Portugal, ca. 1546])

by KAROL LAWSON

WHILE AT THE LIBRARY, I studied images of the North American landscape as represented in maps, both manuscript and printed, that were created during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in western Europe. I also considered the illustrations placed in exploration narratives such as de Bry's massive compendium. This research was part of my doctoral dissertation on images of the American landscape in various media before 1820—a subject I considered in light of the ways in which the American landscape, interpreted visually via both myths and facts, was used to define the continent's identity and character by its European explorers and inhabitants. Viewed in terms of that thesis, Peireira's map of ca. 1545 is a fascinating creation.

The composition utilizes two distinct perspectives that together encompass the conception and evolution of landscape art itself and hint at the complexity of the explorers' perception of the North American continent. The flat, bare outline of the east coast and middle America, labeled with place names, is the essence of documentary map-making, yet immediately the map swells into an illusionistic view—complete with a horizon and a cloud-filled sky—that ends to the “west” with the sharp edge of a picture. The leap of imagination suggested by this transition is epochal. The map is in effect an artifact documenting the rise of landscape, out of the map-maker's craft, as an independent genre in European art theory and practice in the sixteenth century. Peireira's map also evokes the dichotomy of explorers'

perceptions of the New World as, at once, a place to be located and named and a fascinating realm of remarkable sights.

The view is labeled with a banner reading “Nova Espanha” and does indeed appear to be based on contemporary Spanish descriptions of the Southwest. The red rock outcroppings suggest descriptions from the 1540 explorations of Coronado or slightly later discoveries of the Grand Canyon, or areas around the Pecos or Brazos Rivers. This is remarkable since most illuminated maps of the period that depict North America utilize generic picturesque scenery (green trees, flowery meadows) to describe the rich landscape found by explorers, or concentrate on pictures of the native inhabitants, animals, or fanciful monsters.

Peireira's map is not unique in this. A 1558 illuminated map of North America by Diogo Homem, for his *Opus geographicum* (in the collection of the British Library), depicts what appear to be Joshua trees in an arid landscape. The relative accuracy of Peireira's map, reinforced by examples such as Homem's, suggests that Iberian map-makers in general were paying some attention to the landscape descriptions provided by explorers rather than inventing scenery or using stereotypical views developed for use in maps of Europe, Africa, or Asia. The views further suggest that landscape descriptions were considered by the explorers, map-makers, and their patrons to be an integral part of understanding the New World, and that the appearance and character of American nature itself was thought to be significant and useful information.

Karol Lawson was a Library fellow in September 1987. Currently the director of collections at the Columbus Museum in Columbus, Georgia, at the time of her fellowship she was a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Art at the University of Virginia.



Pedro de Cieza de León.
Parte primera de la Chronica del Peru

(Seville: M. de Montesdoca, 1553)

by JOAN-PAU RUBIÉS

I APPROACHED PEDRO CIEZA DE LEÓN'S *First part of the chronicle of Peru* (*Parte primera de la Chronica del Peru*, Seville 1553) with a comparative purpose. Having previously written a doctoral dissertation on European accounts of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and having identified a number of literary genres and intellectual tensions as crucial to the development of European culture during the Renaissance, I now hoped to isolate a number of descriptions of a complex American society in order to determine the extent to which the differences between different colonial contexts would affect my hypotheses. In particular, I had concluded that the tension between the idea of non-Christian civility and the idea of idolatrous religion had profound long-term implications for European self-understanding. Travel accounts and chronicles written in the context of first encounters with non-Muslim urban societies had simultaneously made this tension apparent, and provided some of the principles by which the European response would be more historical than theological. But the American civilizations, unlike those of Asia, had been conquered easily and destroyed by the Europeans: would this fact dissolve that intellectual tension?

Joan-Pau Rubiés was a research fellow at Queens' College, University of Cambridge, England when he became a Paul W. McQuillen Memorial Fellow at the Library in 1991. Currently Dr. Rubiés teaches in the Department of History at the University of Reading, England.

I read Cieza's chronicle knowing that it has long been recognized as one of the earliest and best informed historical accounts of Peru. Not only had the author (ca. 1520–1554) spent many years in South America as it was being explored and ravaged by his countrymen, but the ambitious and complex architecture of his chronicle (of which only the first part was published in the sixteenth century) makes it a first-rate source for various purposes. The four parts of the chronicle constituted a personal survey of the land and its peoples, an original reconstruction of the history of the Inca empire before the conquest, a dramatic account of the actual discovery and conquest of the empire, and a no less dramatic account of the civil wars fought among the Spanish for the spoils of conquest.

Reading Cieza's book involved consulting the excellent and beautifully illustrated Seville first edition of 1553 at the John Carter Brown Library, but also the second and third parts, for which the best manuscripts have only been published since 1979. It is now possible to read the work as a whole and to compare it to other contemporary accounts, some, like the Inca chronicle by Juan de Betanzos, also imperfectly known until very recently. The effect is quite staggering. Cieza was able to express the clash between the civil achievements of the Indians and the misbehaviour of the conquerors as a historical tragedy, without abandoning nevertheless a sense of Spanish national pride and Christian Providence. We are now also able to ascertain the extent to which his interpretation was

Parte primera de la

puieron tanto, que ganaron muchos despojos en batallas q̄ dió a los comarcanos. Y después los Yngas adornaron este pueblo cō crecim̄to de edificios, y mucha cantidad de depósitos: adōde por su mandado se poníā los tributos que se trayan de las comarcas: y auia templo del Sol con numero de Adamaconas y sacerdotes para seruicio del, y cantidad de Inditimaes, y gēte de guerra puesta por frontera para guarda de la prouincia, y seguridad de que no se leuantasse yzāno ninguno contra el que ellos tenían por su soberano señoz. Demanera que se puede con verdad afirmar, auer sido Hatuncolla gran cosa: y assi lo muestra su nombre: porque Hatun quiere decir en nuestra lengua grāde. En el tiempo presente todo, esta perdido y faltan de los naturales la mayor parte, que se han consumido cō la guerra. De Azayre el q̄ ya queda atrás) sale otro camino que llaman Omafugo, que passa por la otra parte de la gran laguna de q̄ luego dire, y mas cerca de la mōtaña de los Andes: y uā por el a los grādes pueblos d̄ Izouro, y Asillo, y Asfanguaro, y a otros, q̄ no son d̄ poca estima ātes se tienē por muy ricos assi de ganados como d̄ mantenim̄to. Quando los Yngas señoreauan este reyno i tenían por todos estos pueblos muchas manadas de sus ouejas y carneros. Estā en el parage ocultos en el monte de la serania el nōbrado y riqui-

ssimo río de Caruaya: dōde en los años passados se sacaron mas de vn millon y setecientos mill pesos de oro tan fino que subia de la ley: y de este oro toda via se halla en el río, pero sacasse con trabajo, y con muerte de los Yndios, si ellos son los que lo han de sacar, por tenerse por enfermo aq̄l lugar, a lo q̄ dicen pero la riqueza del río es grande.

Capitulo . ciij. De la gran laguna que esta en esta comarca del Collao: y quan honda es: y del templo de Titicaca.



Omo sea tan grāde esta tierra del Collao (segū se digo en los capitulos passa dos) ay sin lo poblado muchos desiertos y montes nevados, y otros cā-

chronica del Peru Fo. cxviij.

pos bien poblados de ycrua, que sirue de mantenimiento para el ganado capesino, que por todas partes anda. Y en el comedio d̄ la prouincia se haze vna laguna la mayor y mas andha que se ha hallado m̄ visto en la mayor pte de estas Yndias: y junto a ella estā los mas pueblos del Collao. Y en yllas grādes que tiene este lago siembrā sus sementeras, y guardan las cosas preciadas por tenerlas mas seguras, que en los pueblos que estā en los caminos. Acuerdome, q̄ tengo ya dicho, como haze en esta prouincia tanto frio, que no solamente no ay arboledas de fructales, pero el mayz no se siembra, por que tampoco da fructo por la misma marazon. En los juncales deste lago ay grande numero de pararos de muchos generos, y patos grandes, y otras aues, y matā en ella dos o tres generos d̄ peces biē sabrosos, aun que se tiene por enfermo lo mas dello. Esta laguna es tan grande, que tiene de contorno ochenta leguas, y tan honda, que el capitan Juan ladrillero me dixo a mi, que por algunas partes della andando en sus vergatines se hallaua tener setenta y ochenta brazas y mas, y en partes menos. En fin en esto y en las olas que haze quando el viento la sopla parece algun seno de mar. Querer yo dezir como esta reclusa tanta agua en aquella laguna: y de donde nace, no lo se: porque puesto que muchos rios y arroyos entrē en ella,

pareceme que dellos solos no basta a se hazer lo que ay: mayormente saliendo lo que desta laguna se desagua por otra menor que llaman de los Alulagas. Jd̄ odria ser que del tiempo del diluio quedo alli con esta agua que vemos: por q̄ ami ver si fuera ojo de mar, estuiera salobre el agua y no dulce: q̄n to mas que estara de la mar mas d̄ sessenta leguas. Y toda esta agua desagua por vn río hōdo, y que se tuuo por gran fuerza para esta comarca, al qual llaman el desaguadero: y entra en la laguna que digo arriba llamarse de los Alulagas. Otra cosa se nota sobre este caso, y es: que vemos como el agua d̄ vna laguna entra en la otra (esta es la del Collao en la de los Alulagas) y no como sale: aunque por todas partes se ha andado el lago de los alulagas. Y sobre esto he oydo a Españoles y Yndios, q̄ en vnos valles de los que estan cercanos a la mar del Sur se han visto y veen continuo ojos de agua que van por debajo de tierra a dar a la misma mar: y creē que podria ser que fuesse el agua de estos lagos, desaguando por algunas partes, abriendo camino por las entrañas de la misma tierra, hasta yz a parar donde todas van, que es la mar. La grā laguna del Collao tiene por nombre Titicaca, por el templo q̄ estauo edificado en la misma laguna. De donde los naturales tuuieron por opinio vna vanidad muy grāde, y es: que quenta estos Yndios

extremely personal and, despite his lack of formal education, remarkably sophisticated. The Incas appear, for example, as fully rational beings, but also as cruel barbarians, according to the complex evidence collected by the chronicler. Their achievements in civilizing Peru (often defined in stark contrast with the anarchy and irrationality of the pre-Inca tribes) were compared to the achievements of the ancients. Quite often, observed Cieza, this excellent political order had degenerated after the coming of the Spanish, for lack of good government. The Spanish, often portrayed as cruel and ignorant, could be as deluded as the Indians were about their own actions, even when in the actual process of heroically fulfilling Divine Providence by bringing the Christian truth to those lands. Although Atahualpa made errors of judgment, he was nevertheless an intelligent, well-informed, and powerful ruler. He was in fact the victim of historical circumstances, because his times were those of civil strife, surely the working of God's will. Thus the evidence of historical relativity was made to stand side-by-side with the evidence of Christian success.

Of course Cieza's interpretation was not entirely faithful to Inca self-understanding: the chronicler used indigenous sources which he had collected orally a few years after the conquest, but he also rationalized indigenous myths so as to clear the way for the Christian monopoly of divine power. In fact, he pursued this process of mythical deconstruction for humanistic reasons: the more he could

rationalize Inca myths as historical events, the less would the very real specter of devilish influences, which pervaded Indian idolatry and bad customs, stand in the way of a synthesis between Inca civility and Christian values. Cieza's intellectual strategy clearly recalls the one made famous by his contemporary, the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas.

To sum up, although not without ideological contradictions, what makes Cieza's book so extraordinary is the writer's ability to take an informed and balanced view of the historical point of view and human qualities of both Indians and Europeans. In this he emulated the best Classical historians, his obvious rhetorical models, albeit from a sixteenth-century moral perspective. Cieza was certainly a man of his times, in his condemnation of cannibalism and sodomy as well as in his insistence on the unity of the destiny of the whole of mankind. But he dramatized perhaps better than most other early chroniclers and travelers, in America or Asia, the fact that, in their novel conquests overseas, the Europeans failed to live up to the crucial assumption that the Christians were also the more civilized. The very fabric of that religion which he sought to extend was eroded by the need to disentangle theology, morality, and politics. In this way Christian humanism, the supreme act of synthesis of the Renaissance, opened its own eyes to the evidence of moral self-destruction which would lead to modernity.

Francisco López de Gómara.
*La historia general de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo,
con mas la conquista del Peru y de México*

(Saragossa: M. de Capila, 1554)

by NORA EDITH JIMÉNEZ

EL EJEMPLAR QUE DESCRIBIMOS es la segunda edición (tercera impresión) zaragozana de la obra; un in folio impreso en letra gótica, que se abre con una página titular en negro y rojo. Enmarcado con filetes aparece el escudo imperial, con un águila bicéfala, coronada y orlada por una cadena de la que pende el toisón de oro. Debajo dos columnas con la leyenda imperial *Plus Ultra*. En la parte superior, entre viñetas dice: *Con Privilegio del Principe nuestro señor por diez años*. Al pie del mismo aparece la leyenda *La historia general de las In/dias y nuevo mundo, con mas la conquista del Pe/ru y de Mexico: agora nuevamente añadida y enmendada por el mismo autor, con una ta/bla muy cumplida delos capítulos, y muchas figuras que en otras impressiones no lleva*. Abierta con una bastardilla: *Vendense en Çaragoça en casa de Miguel de Çapila, mercader de libros*. En el folio Ai verso se reproduce la dedicatoria a Carlos V, que ocupa toda la plana en 48 líneas.

La segunda parte, abierta por el mismo escudo se titula *Cronica de la nueua españa / con la conquista de Mexico / [sic] y otras cosas notables: hechas / por el valeroso Hernando Cortes, Marques del Valle, Capitan / de su Magestad en aquellas partes. / Con mucha diligencia corregida, y añadida por el mesmo autor: / En Çaragoça. 1554*. En el folio Ai verso se dedica la obra a Martin Cortes, Marqués del Valle. Los colofones de Pedro Bernúz y Agustín Millan señalan como fecha el doce de octubre de 1554 y el año de 1554, respectivamente.

Mientras que en la segunda parte sólo se ha cambiado la portada respecto de la primera edición, la parte que corresponde a la *Historia de Indias* va adornada con treinta y un grabados de diseño gótico que representan escenas de combate, asaltos a castillos o ciudades, escaramuzas navales. Son los mismos utilizados en 1502 para la edición germana de las *Décadas* de Tito Livio (en Mainz, por J. Schoeffer), y en 1520 para la traducción que imprimió en Zaragoza el también alemán Jorge Coçi. Si su uso para ilustrar un tema latino era ya una licencia, esta era mayor en el uso que se daba a los grabados dentro de la presente edición: la misma figura que ilustra la prisión del descubridor Cristóbal Colón—europea, vestida con calzas y túnica—es la misma que ilustra el apresamiento del inca Atahualpa.

El esmero de esta tirada contrasta con la de 1552, hecha toda por Millan. Aquel trabajo (de los primeros importantes que produjo ese impresor), era decoroso, pero no sobresaliente. En cambio, el alemán Bernúz se había formado en el taller de Jorge Coçi, tal vez el mejor de los comienzos de la imprenta zaragozana. Bernúz fué el más aventajado discípulo y con el tiempo devino el dueño. Era un tipógrafo versado y elegante, como denotan el escudo de la portada, de factura más delicada, la nitidez de la letra, la edición de una tabla de capítulos que no figuraba en la primera edición, las modificaciones en la puntuación (uso de paréntesis, menos comas); y una composición del texto a renglón seguido, en lugar de dos columnas.

Nora Jiménez was a Mapfre America Fellow at the Library in the summer of 1994. At the time of her application she was a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. She is currently a professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

El ejemplar que comentamos es una pieza de considerable valor histórico no sólo por lo hermoso de su factura, o por su rareza (sólo hay cuatro copias registradas de ella), sino porque su existencia ha despertado dudas a la vista una prohibición real lanzada contra la obra el 17 de noviembre de 1553. Pero visto en forma comparativa, lo que el tomo confirma es una continuidad de las ediciones aragonesas, supervisadas por Gómara y autorizadas sólo para el reino de Aragón, donde no regía la estricta reglamentación que imperaba en Castilla. Aún se alude al privilegio de publicación obtenido del Príncipe Felipe, firmado en Monzón el 7 de octubre de 1552, que se reproducía en la edición primera. En cambio, la emisión de Medina del Campo (1553), realizada por Guillermo de Millis (de menor calidad tipográfica, publicada en dominios de Castilla), sólo incluía una vaga referencia al privilegio, escondía el nombre del autor en páginas interiores y cambiaba el título asignado originalmente por el pomposo *Hispania Victrix*. Millis y su socio Juan Pedro Musetí, ya habían sido procesados previamente por omitir la inserción del privilegio al frente de sus ejemplares.

Aunque la Biblioteca John Carter Brown no posee un ejemplar de la edición de 1552, sí cuenta con una reimpresión de 1553 dentro de su maravillosa colección. Es el fondo bibliográfico que alberga la mayor variedad de las ediciones conocidas de Gómara impresas hasta principios del siglo XVII: cuatro de las cinco impresiones españolas; todas las ediciones flamencas; ocho de las diez ediciones italianas; diez de las once francesas; todas las ediciones inglesas y todos los casos en los que se incluyó un extracto o selección del texto. Ello es sólo un ejemplo de lo valioso de la colección, tanto en el caso de estar haciendo una pesquisa de la pieza única, como cuando se hace un estudio comparativo. Hay algo no menos importante: todo este material está disponible para la consulta del investigador dentro del mismo amplio, acogedor, inolvidable salón de lectura.

Con privilegio del Principe nuestro señor



Crónica de la nueva España

con la conquista de Mexico y otras cosas notables hechas

por el valeroso Hernando Cortes, Marques del Valle, Capitan

de su Magestad en aquellas partes.

Con mucha diligencia corregida, y añadida por el mismo autor.

En Zaragoza. 1554.

Francisco López de Gómara.
*La historia general de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo,
con mas la conquista del Peru y de Mexico*
(Zaragoza, 1554)

by NORA EDITH JIMÉNEZ

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PIECE described here is the second edition (third Zaragozan issue) of Gómara's chronicle. The book is a folio written in four different sizes of gothic characters. The title page is printed in black and red ink. In a frame, we find Charles V's imperial coat of arms: the Castile-León, Aragon-Navarra arms, the double headed crowned eagle, surrounded by a chain carrying the *toison d'or*, and below, two columns with the imperial slogan *Plus Ultra*. At the top of the page, an inscription announces "Con privilegio del Principe nuestro señor por diez años" ("With the privilege of the Prince our Lord for ten years"). At the bottom of the page, the title appears: "La historia general de las In/dias y nuevo mundo, con mas la conquista del Pe/ru y de Mexico: agora nuevamente añadida y enmendada por el mismo autor, con una ta/bla muy complida delos capitulos, y muchas figuras que en otras impresiones no lleva. / Vendese en Çaragoça en Casa de Miguel de çapila, mercader de libros." ("The history of the Indies and the new world, with the conquest of Peru and of Mexico, now newly issued with the emendations and additions of the author, with a neat table of contents, and many other figures that other issues have not"). On page Ai verso, the dedication addressed to the Emperor appears in 48 lines.

The title page of the second part has the same legend at the top of the page, and at the bottom we read: "Cronica de la nueva españa / con la conquista de Mexico / [sic] y otras cosas notables: hechas / por el valeroso Hernando Cortes, Marques del

Valle, Capitan / de su Magestad en aquellas partes. / Con mucha diligencia corregida, y añadida por el mesmo [sic] autor. / En Çaragoça, 1554." ("Chronicle of New Spain with the conquest of Mexico and other remarkable things done by the bold Hernando Cortes, Marques del Valle, His Majesty captain in those countries. Very industriously amended and with additions by the same author. In Zaragoza, 1554"). On Page Ai verso the work is dedicated to Martin Cortes, Marques del Valle. Pedro Bernúz and Agustín Millan's colophons, in each of these parts respectively, give us the date of the imprints: October 12, 1554, for the first part, and the year 1554 for the second one.

While for the second part the difference with the first edition is only the title page, the *Historia de Indias* displays 31 gothic vignettes portraying battle scenes, sieges of castles, and naval skirmishes which were not included in the 1552 edition. These woodcuts are the same ones used to illustrate the 1502 German edition of Livy's *Decades* (Mainz, by J. Schoeffer), and its 1520 Spanish translation printed by another German, Jorge Coçi. If the use of them was already immoderate to portray a Roman scene, their presence in this edition is even more excessive. We can tell, for instance, that the same figure, dressed and shod in a European style, was employed both in an illustration of Columbus and of Atahualpa's apprehension.

The polish of this edition contrasts with the one formerly published by Millan alone, in 1552. Millan's work was among his first important tasks. It was a decorous

piece, although not really outstanding. Conversely, Bernúz had been a disciple of Jorge Coçi, whose workshop was probably the best in the early period of Zaragozan imprints. Bernúz was the most conspicuous pupil, and later became the master. He was a qualified and elegant typographer, as we can see in the woodcut of the title page, more delicate than the one used before. The clarity of the types, the addition of the table of contents not found in the previous edition, and the improvement of the punctuation (use of parenthesis, fewer commas) also contrast with the previous edition. Finally, the design of the page is full measure, instead of the two-column composition found in the first edition.

The piece described has a remarkable historical value, not only because it is beautifully crafted, or because of its rarity (there survive only four recorded copies), but because of the speculation that it came into being after a royal prohibition, dated November 17, 1553 was issued. Estimated in a comparative way, the 1554 Zaragoza edition confirms a kind of continuity of the Aragon editions, all of them done under Gómara's supervision, but authorized only for the kingdom of Aragon, away from the force of the Castillian strict printing rules. The printing privilege included in the first edition, granted by prince Phillip and dated in Monzon, October 7th, 1552, is still referred to. Conversely, Medina del Campo's edition done by Guillermo de Millis in 1553 seems suspicious: published in Castile, it has less typographical quality; the privilege is only ambiguously men-

tioned; the name of the author was somewhat concealed; and the original title was supplanted by the pretentious *Hispania Victrix*. Here, we need to mention that Millis and his partner Juan Pedro Museti had previously been sued for omitting the privilege at the beginning of their issues.

Although the John Carter Brown Library does not own the 1552 edition, the 1553 printing is part of its marvelous collection. In fact, the JCBL possesses the largest number of early editions of Gómara's work up to the beginning of the seventeenth century: Four out of the five Spanish issues; eight out of the ten Italian editions; ten out of the eleven French ones; all the Flemish and English known editions. This is only one example of the great merit of the collection, both when looking for the unique copy and when doing a comparative study. Furthermore, everything is available to the researcher's consultation inside the same spacious, friendly, unforgettable reading room.

Translation by NORA JIMÉNEZ AND
LISA VOIGT

Hans Staden.
*Warhafftig Historia unnd
Beschreibung einer Landtschafft*

(Marburg: A. Kolbe, 1557) and
(Frankfurt: W. Han, [1557?])

by URS BITTERLI

AN DER VERBREITUNG DES WISSENS über das neu entdeckte Amerika haben deutsche Gelehrte grossen Anteil genommen. Der Erfindung des Buchdrucks durch Johannes Gutenberg war es zu verdanken, dass die ersten Nachrichten des Amerigo Vespucci in der Alten Welt ein grosses Echo fanden, und die deutschen Kosmographen Martin Behaim und Martin Waldseemüller leisteten einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Erweiterung der Weltkenntnis.

Nur wenige Reisende deutscher Sprache aber waren im frühen 16. Jahrhundert an den Reisen nach Amerika direkt beteiligt, und nur wenige von ihnen haben Berichte hinterlassen. Zu den wichtigsten Berichten dieser Art gehören die Aufzeichnungen, die der hessische Söldner Hans Staden über seinen Aufenthalt in Brasilien in den Jahren 1547 bis 1555 verfasst hat. Staden reiste in portugiesischen Diensten nach Südamerika, geriet südwestlich des heutigen Rio de Janeiro in indianische Gefangenschaft und schwebte in Gefahr, von Kannibalen verspeist zu werden. Der deutsche Söldner war zwar kein gebildeter, aber doch ein kluger Beobachter, und auch wenn sein Bericht über die "wildern, nackten und grimmigen Menschenfresser" etwas sensationslüstern ist, finden sich darin doch viele ethnographisch und historisch wichtige Hinweise.

Stadens Buch fand in Europa in mehreren Auflagen weite Verbreitung, und die Sammlung der John Carter Brown Library besitzt davon mehrere Exemplare in deutscher, lateinischer und holländischer Sprache. Besonders gut erinnere ich mich an die Ausgaben der "Warhafftig Historia", die im Jahre 1557 in Frankfurt und Marburg erschienen. Beide Ausgaben sind mit zahlreichen Holzschnitten versehen, in denen besonders das Thema des Kannibalismus drastisch dargestellt wird; aber auch ein afrikanischer Elefant hat sich auf einer der Illustrationen nach Amerika verirrt. Auch wenn sich manche dieser Holzschnitte weit von der brasilianischen Realität entfernen, bleiben sie doch typisch für das Bild, das man sich im 16. Jahrhundert in Europa von Amerika machte. Ich denke mit grosser Genugtuung an die Zeit zurück, die ich im Herbst 1983 als "Fellow" im schönen Lesesaal der "John Carter Brown Library" verbringen durfte, vertieft in den Bericht von Hans Staden und in viele andere kostbare Werke und vom Personal überaus entgegenkommend betreut. Die Frucht meiner damaligen Studien ist in mehrere meiner eigenen Bücher eingegangen, und es war mir eine besondere Freude, dass eines davon auch ins Englische übersetzt wurde und unter dem Titel "Cultures in Conflict" (Stanford University Press, 1989) in den USA Verbreitung fand.

Urs Bitterli was a fellow at the Library in the fall of 1983. At the time of his fellowship he was a professor in the Historisches Seminar at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, a position which he still holds.

Hans Staden.

*Warhafftig Historia unnd
Beschreibung einer Landtschafft*

(Marburg: A. Kolbe, 1557) and

(Frankfurt: W. Han, [1557?])

by URS BITTERLI

ERUDITE GERMANS PLAYED a large part in the dispersion of knowledge about the newly discovered America. It was due to the discovery of printing by Johann Gutenberg that the first reports of Amerigo Vespucci reached large audiences, and the German cosmographers Martin Behaim and Martin Waldseemüller made an important contribution to the expansion of the knowledge of the globe.

Only a few German-speaking travelers took part directly in sixteenth-century voyages to America, however, and only a few of them left records behind. Among the most interesting reports of this kind are the sketches that the Hessian mercenary Hans Staden composed about his stay in Brazil in the years 1547 to 1555. Staden traveled in Portuguese service to South America, was captured by Indians southwest of

present-day Rio de Janeiro, and was in danger of being eaten by cannibals. The German soldier was an uneducated but shrewd observer, and even if his report about the "wild, naked and ferocious man-eaters" is somewhat sensationalistic, there are still many items of ethnographic and historical importance to be found in it.

Staden's book was widely circulated in several European editions, and the John Carter Brown Library holds several of those editions in German, Latin, and Dutch. I remember especially well the editions of the *Warhafftig Historia* which appeared in 1557 in Marburg. Both editions are supplied with numerous woodcuts, in which cannibalism in particular is portrayed with crude explicitness; but an African elephant has also strayed into America in one of the illustrations. Even if some of these woodcuts depart much from the Brazilian reality, they are still typical of the image that Europeans of the sixteenth century had of America. I recall with great satisfaction the period during the fall of 1983 when I had the privilege of being a Fellow in the beautiful Reading Room of the John Carter Brown Library, absorbed in the account of Hans Staden and in many other precious works, and attended to by the staff in an exceedingly helpful way. The fruits of my research at that time have gone into several of my own books, and it was a special pleasure for me that one of these was translated into English, under the title *Cultures in Conflict* (Stanford University Press, 1989) and found distribution in the United States.

**Warhafftiger kurtzer Ge-
richte/handel vnd sitten der Tuppin In-
bas/derer gefangner ich gewesen bin/Wonen in Ame-
rica/ire lande schaffe ligt in in 24. gradus vßder
Seiden seit d linien æquinoctial/ir landtskoffet
an eyn reffer/Rio de Janeiro genant.**



Translated by DENNIS C. LANDIS

Maturino Gilberti.
Arte de la le[n]gua de Michuaca[n]

(Mexico City: J. Pablos, 1558)

by J. BENEDICT WARREN

MATURINO GILBERTI'S *Arte de la lengua de Michuacan*, (Grammar of the Language of Michoacán) was, as far as we know, the first printed grammar of a native American language. Other grammars had circulated in manuscript previously but Gilberti's was the first to come out in print. It appeared in Mexico City in 1558 from the press of Juan Pablos, the first printer of the New World. The John Carter Brown Library's copy of the *Arte* is one of two known to exist in public collections, the other being in the British Library. A third was reported in a private collection in Mexico City, but its present location is unknown.

The "language of Michoacán," to which the title refers, has been called Tarascan since the 16th century, although many of those who speak the language today prefer to call themselves and their language Purépecha. The author of the grammar, by strange coincidence, was a Frenchman. According to recently discovered documentation, he was born at Poitiers in France in 1507 or 1508. He joined the Franciscan Order in the nearby town of Parthenay in 1524 and was ordained a priest in 1531. Either before or after his ordination he studied arts and theology at the University of Toulouse. He arrived in Mexico, then known as New Spain, in 1542 with a group of Franciscans who had as their superior Fray Jacobo Daciano, a member of the Danish royal family. Fray Maturino showed an outstanding capacity for languages, later claiming command of Náhuatl, Otomí, Matlatzinca, and Chichimeca as well as Tarascan.

His writings, beside the Tarascan grammar, include a Spanish-Tarascan, Tarascan-Spanish dictionary and several doctrinal and devotional works in the same language. The JCB has copies of several of his other published titles as well as two manuscript volumes of his unpublished Tarascan sermons. All of these items came into the Library through the purchase of the collection of Dr. Nicolás León, a Mexican bibliophile of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

León republished the grammar in Mexico City in 1898. A facsimile edition based primarily on the JCB copy, with a historical introduction by the present writer, appeared in Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico from the publishing house of Fimax Publicistas Editores in 1987. A modernized critical edition is being prepared in El Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora, Michoacán, Mexico, as part of a project to publish all of Father Gilberti's works in the original language and in Spanish translation.

J. Benedict Warren held a post-doctoral fellowship at the Library in the fall of 1965. For twenty-five years he was a professor in the Department of History at the University of Maryland at College Park. Now retired and living in Morelia, Mexico, Dr. Warren continues to write and lecture, and was recently chosen a corresponding member of the Mexican Academy of History.

EN LENGVA DE MECH.

Yengoquarebaca pauan burendabpecuecãi.
Tengo esperança de enseñar mañana, vel, A-
rabaca pauan burendabpecuecani, vel, Pa-
uan arabaca burendabpecuecani. Spero me
doctum ire cras.

¶ Delos gerundios en di.do,dum, veras en la
seguuda parte.

¶ Impersonal. Indicatiuo preñenti.
Hurendabperangabati, vel, Hurendabperaã
bati: todos enseñan.

¶ Preterito imperfecto.
Hurẽdabperangabãmbibti, vel, handi. Todos
enseñauan.

¶ Preterito perfecto.
Herendabperangati, vel, burendabperaque-
ti. Todos enseñaron y han enseñado. &c.

¶ Preterito plusq̃ perfecto.
Hurendabperaquepihti. Todos auia enseñado

¶ Futuro imperfecto.
Hurendabperangauati, vel, Queuati. Todos
enseñaran.

¶ Futuro perfecto.
Thuyn burendabperangauati, vel, Queuati

Pedro de Feria.
*Doctrina christiana en lengua
castellana y çapoteca*

(Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1567)

by JUDITH FRANCIS ZEITLIN

THIS GILT-EDGED VOLUME, acquired for the Library by John Carter Brown personally, was published in Mexico City while its author served as chapter provincial for the Dominican Order in New Spain. Although Fr. Pedro de Feria may be more widely known among colonial historians for a brief report on Indian idolatries he composed later as Bishop of Chiapas, we see reflected in his Spanish-Zapotec catechism many of the qualities for which his contemporary, Fr. Agustín Dávila y Padilla, praised him. A great linguist and a devout and humble man, Feria's skills at logic and argumentation were widely appreciated within the Order, and persuasive rhetoric exemplifies the *Doctrina's* presentation of Catholic beliefs. Most Dominican writers who followed him merely sputtered moral outrage at pagan practice as they reconfigured religious anecdotes into native-language catechisms. Feria, however, in this interpretation of the *doctrina larga*, presented a nuanced philosophical argument for the falsity of Precolumbian belief and the veracity of Christianity, an argument which recalls the early debates between the Franciscans and the Aztecs recounted in the Nahuatl "colloquies" edited by Fr. Sahagún. For the Zapotecs, however, we have no comparable native text reporting indigenous responses to early Dominican missionary efforts, only the laudatory chronicles produced by the Order's historians.

The rhetorical and semantic structure of this, the first published work to grapple with Zapotec language and culture, is therefore an especially significant source for ethnohistorians like myself interested in understanding the spiritual side of the Spanish conquest in Oaxaca. It allows us a unique glimpse of the theological challenge that Zapotec religious concepts presented to early missionaries, even though Feria prudently avoided any detailed dissection of indigenous cosmology that might be found to promote idolatry. By contrasting the temporality of native religious practice with the otherworldly focus of Catholicism, by reducing native gods and divine ancestors to cultural artifacts, and by attributing the sorry state of Oaxaca's decimated population to holy retribution, the *Doctrina* charted a multi-pronged attack on Zapotec spirituality. That this blueprint for proselyzation had such limited success is testimony to the resiliency of indigenous cultural values.

As an independent scholar, with a Ph.D. in Anthropology from Yale University, Judith Zeitlin was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the Library in 1992. Dr. Zeitlin is currently teaching at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.



¶ Los mandami-
entos de dios son diez. Los
tres primeros pertenescē
al honoꝝ de Dios.

¶ Allaati chū xi-
baa tichapea xiteni, B. Dios, Co-
yona xibaaga naquiña quela ti-
zij nachi yodi Dios, quela quiti-
one chahuina xi bejoánana.
¶ Allaati

En lēgua castellanay capoteca. 59

Y los otros siete al proue-
cho del proximo.

¶ El primero, A-
maras a dios sobre todas
las cosas.

¶ El segundo, No
juraras su sancto nombre
en vano.

¶ El tercero, Sā
ctificaras las fiestas.

¶ El quarto, Hon-
rraras a tu padre y ma-
dre.

¶ El quinto, No
mataras.

¶ El sexto, No
fornicaras.

¶ El septimo, No
hurtaras.

¶ El octauo, No
levantaras falso testimo-
nio.

Cecachea xibaa naquiña xite-
nini lecaa beniatina quela qui-
tione chahuina legaana.

¶ Cotobi ribaa
nitij, can tobica dios cōni xi-
bitoolo, cocetelo, canachijlo
quitobi lachilo.

¶ Cotopa ribaa
nitij yacozete xihuilo, yacoça-
ca xihuilo laa. B. Dios.

¶ Coyona ribaa
nitij, chidomigo chilani tao, xi-
lani xibitoolo dios, chela fēōs
xilani ni capachahuilo cij na-
chilo.

¶ Cotapa ribaa
nitij, cijnachilo, bixocelo chela
xiñalo.

¶ Coyoribaa ni-
tij, yacōtilo legaalo beniatij, ya-
catibeni ñaalo yacoti lega beniatilo.

¶ Coxopa ribaa
nitij, yaquichaga xihuilo pelala-
tilo: cetobi cuela beni.

¶ Coche ribaa ni-
tij, yacuanalo xitila xiteni beni.

¶ Coxono ribaa
nitij yacocoa xihuilo legaalo,
aconilachilo.

H ij

Nicolas de Nicolay sieur d'Arfeuille.
*La navigation du roy d'Escosse Iaques
cinquième du nom...*

(Paris: Chez Gilles Beys, 1583)

Great Britain.

*Report of the Committee appointed by the
Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to
enquire into the causes of the outbreak of
scurvy in the recent Arctic expedition*

(London: For Her Majesty's Stationary Office by
Harrison & Sons, [1877])

by ADMIRAL G. STEVE RITCHIE

WHEN I ARRIVED at the John Carter Brown Library to take up my Fellowship in 1987, I was fortunate in meeting the former Librarian Thomas Adams. He placed in my hands a copy of "Maritime History—A Preliminary Hand List," published by the Library in 1979, the compilation having been carried out by C. Danial Elliott, a JCB staff member. In his Introduction Adams states that "It is a finding list and not an exhaustive study of the Library's resources on the subject."

The maritime works in this compilation are listed in classified sections in chronological order, each entry accompanied by a brief factual description together with its shelf number. The sturdy booklet of over 300 pages is for the marine historian a golden key which opens a veritable treasure house wherein the jewels of the Library are immediately exposed.

An early entry describes Nicolas Nicolay's sailing directions in the French language for the coasts of Scotland, prepared for King James V under the direction of the Scottish pilot Alexander Lindsay. This work provided me with a starting point for an essay on the early charting of Scottish waters.

Separated from Nicolas Nicolay by 300 years and a great many entries, I found listed under the "Health" classification the

*Report of the Committee appointed by the
Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to
enquire into the causes of the outbreak of
scurvy in the recent Arctic expedition.*

While writing my book *The Admiralty Chart* in the 1960s I had been unable to explain why scurvy had played such a fatal role during Captain George Nares' assault on the North Pole with his screw sloops *Alert* and *Discovery* in 1875–76, many years after this affliction was thought to have been eliminated. The discovery of this Report in the Library enabled me to incorporate the Committee's findings when I was updating *The Admiralty Chart* for a new edition in 1995, the Bicentenary Year of the British Hydrographic Office.

The major reason for the return of scurvy to plague Nares' expedition appears to have been that lime juice was carried onboard rather than lemon juice which has a much higher vitamin C content. Even lime juice was not issued to the many sledge parties, for it would have frozen solid in the large containers available. Although the famous naval surgeon James Lind had recommended in 1793 that the Admiralty issue lemon juice for use within the Fleet, I was still enjoying a daily issue of lime juice onboard H M Ships over one hundred and fifty years later.

Admiral G. Steve Ritchie was a Library fellow in the fall of 1986. Admiral Ritchie was Hydrographer for the Royal Navy between 1966 and 1971. He currently resides in Scotland.

VRAIE & exacte description Hydrographique des côtes maritimes d'Écosse & des
 Isles Orchades Hébrides avec partie d'Angleterre & d'Irlande servant à la navigation
 Par N. de Nicolay D'Aulphinois Sieur d'Arleuille & de Belair premier Cosmographe
 du Roy.
 1583



Bernardino de Sahagún.
*Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de
los santos del año, en lengua mexicana*

(Mexico: P. Ocharte, 1583)

by LOUISE M. BURKHART

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY houses one of the country's best collections of early Nahuatl (Aztec-language) books from colonial Mexico. Catholic friars of the mendicant orders collaborated with native students and assistants to produce catechisms, confession manuals, sermons, and devotional guides for the emerging native Church. Although the books were published under the friars' names, the role of the literate Nahua assistants was vital: they translated texts from Spanish and Latin into Nahuatl, corrected and polished the friars' Nahuatl, and also did much of the typesetting.

To me, the most interesting of these books is the *Psalmodia christiana*. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, a Franciscan best known for his ethnographic accounts of native Mexican culture, wished to provide Christian songs in Nahuatl for the Nahuas to sing during Church festivals. He enlisted four Nahua scholars—Antonio Valeriano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Martín Jacobita, and Alonso Vegerano—to help him produce what would be the only Nahuatl songbook published in colonial Mexico. Although the new songs were largely derived from the Latin liturgy and Spanish lives of the saints, the native scholars achieved a creative hybridization of Old World discourses with Nahua styles of song, oratory, and narrative. They also managed to inscribe subtly subversive, nativist statements into the work. It is clear that Sahagún's oversight of the project was far from total.

Because my research deals with Nahua understandings and interpretations of Christianity, and with Nahuatl-language Christian writings as a genre of native literature, the *Psalmodia* has been an invaluable resource. I have looked at how the *Psalmodia* uses nature symbolism in ways that connect Christianity with indigenous conceptions of the sacred world, for example, by identifying angels with the brightly feathered tropical birds that, in traditional belief, embodied the souls of dead warriors. I have analyzed the book's songs to Saint James, the patron saint of Spain, to show how the native authors disassociate the saint from their colonial overlords and make him meaningful to the native community. They attribute the Christianization of Mexico directly to the saint rather than to the conquering Spaniards, and equate the conversion of pagan Spain with their own recent adoption of the Christian faith. My current project, an anthology of Nahuatl writings on the Virgin Mary, will include several excerpts from the *Psalmodia*'s songs for her festivals.

The *Psalmodia christiana* was eventually banned by the Mexican Inquisition and almost destroyed. Only a handful of copies survive.

Louise Burkhart was a National Endowment for the Humanities fellow at the Library in 1988. At the time of her application she was a post-doctoral fellow in the Department of Anthropology at Yale University and is currently a professor at the State University of New York at Albany.



Et lacat vei Propheta, cenca tlama-
 uiço, inic oquima : ca in iehoatzi in
 Dios, reuiutica tlalchiuhcatzintli muchi
 uaz in tlalticpac.

Qui

Quito: totēcuiocē, tleica iniuhqui ti-
 tlalchiuhcatzītli timuchiuaz tlalticpac?
 Quauhtla, çacatla momiltico in tote-
 cuio, in nican tlalticpac iuitzoçtzi, iuic-
 tzi itlatquitzi oalmuchiuhztzinotia.

In Animasme, imilhoa muchiuh-
 ticate in totecuio : in çacatl, in tla-
 cotl, inezca in tlatlaculli itech muchiuh
 tica.

Itemachtiltica, iteaalitzica, tecoco
 tlaroltica: inezca in vitzoçtli, ic oquimo
 popolhui in tlatlaculli.

çatepan vncan oquimotoquili initeu
 cintzi, ca iehoatl initeu tlatoltzi, in çan-
 çacatla, in quauhtla catca, in çacatla cat-
 ca, ie teumilli.

SEGUNDO

Psalmo.

CEnca vel quauhtla, çacatla, vel ouicā,
 tequanitla, in omōçacamulhui in to-
 tecuio: inic vncan omufuchimiltitzino.

Ini anima, in sancta Maria Magdale-
 na, in oçtlatlacotinenca, iuhquinma tol-
 la.

Catholic Church.
*Tercero catecismo y exposición
de la doctrina christiana*

(Lima: A. Ricardo, 1585)

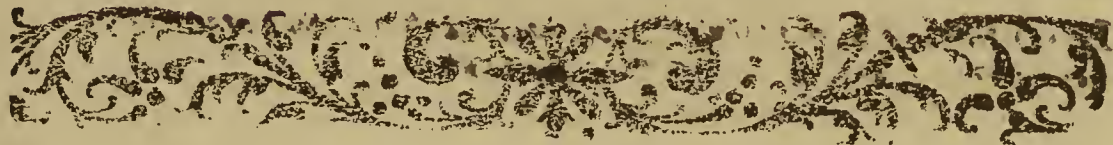
by JULIE GREER JOHNSON

THE HISTORY OF THE book in colonial Latin America was not the research topic that originally brought me to the John Carter Brown Library in the fall of 1984 but one that was inspired during my stay in Providence by the Library's Director, Norman Fiering, and by the extraordinary holdings of the collection itself. Much scholarship had already been done on the role of books and printing in the development of culture and society in New England, yet surprisingly the extensive resources of the JCB, which could support a comparable investigation for the Latin American area, remained largely untouched. Entranced by the New World's *historia del libro*, which was distinguished by its pre-Columbian beginnings and the arrival of the Gutenberg press less than a hundred years after its invention, I began work on a prospectus whose various aspects would be the focus of my research for the next five years. The Book in the Americas conference, held at the JCB in 1987, and the publication of the exhibition catalogue the following year marked the culmination of the project.

In 1984, at the time of her appointment as a Library fellow, Julie Greer Johnson was a professor of Spanish American literature at the University of Georgia where she continues to teach.

One of the items that I chose for the exhibition was the *Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana*, published in Lima in 1585. It was the fourth work produced in the City of Kings by Peru's first printer Antonio Ricardo, who had brought his equipment from Mexico City to South America to meet the needs of a rapidly growing readership there. His first complete printing project in Lima was the *Pragmatica sobre los diez dias del año*, announcing the adoption of the Gregorian calendar to Spanish Americans. In 1912 George Parker Winship, who was then the Librarian of the JCB, discovered one of the two remaining copies of this document and identified it as being the first imprint from a South American press.

The *Tercero catecismo* was one of the many works used by missionaries in the evangelization of the subjects of the former Inca Empire, as its trilingual textual arrangement attests. The Jesuit historian and linguist, Father Joseph de Acosta, judged the accuracy of the translation of the Spanish into Quechua and Aymara, and his signature on the first page of the book is the official mark of approval of the ecclesiastical board of censorship. As a keen observer of the New World environment, Acosta developed a special affinity for the Indians, and his appreciation of their culture even led him to take a sympathetic view of their practice of idolatry. His *De natura Novi Orbis* is also to be found at the JCB.



SERMON XXVII. DE LA CHARIDAD y Limosna. En que se trata como todos los mandamientos se resumen en amar a Dios, y al proximo, y como el amar consiste en hazer bien al proximo, y de los malos Christianos, que tratan mal a los Indios, y exortase a que tengan charidad con los pobres, y necesitados, y cumplan las obras de misericordia, reprehendiendo su inhumanidad en esto, y como el dia del Iuyzio Iesu Christo ha de pedir quenta de las obras de misericordia.

(.?.)

EN muchos sermones os he dicho lo que contienen los mandamientos de Dios, declarandoos cada uno por si. En este sermon os quiero enseñar como tengays en una palabra la ley de Dios. La qual si la guardaredes cumplireys todos los mandamientos.

Iesu

QVICHVA



CHCA mita cunacuscay sermon cunapim Diospa camachicufcan siminta, çapamâta yachachijquichic cunan cay villacussac ñilcaypimcana, hucsimillamâ Diospa llapa cam achicufcan siminta huñupuscayquichic, chayta huacaychaspaca Diospa llapa camachicufcan simintam huacaychanquichic. Iesu

AVMARA.



Aya huassa sermonasimpi, Diosna camachita aronacpa yatichasma, çapa çapata cananchasina. Ychasca aca arosiñaha sermonâpi atamamama camisamna vca tunca aronaca paya aroroqui tucu. Aca payaqui checapuni huacaychassinca, Diosna yacapa camachitanacpasa taquepahua tucuychahata. Iesu

Abraham Ortelius.
Thesaurus geographicus

(Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1596)

by JAMES ROMM

ABRAHAM ORTELIUS was a humanist and scholar as well as a mapmaker, and he constantly sought to relate his interest in Classical antiquity to his study of cartography. Beginning in 1578 he produced a reference work, eventually to be called the *Thesaurus Geographicus*, relating place names found in Classical texts to their modern equivalents. At first glance this little Latin lexicon seems unexceptional as compared with Ortelius's lavishly illustrated world atlas, the famous *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. However, a 1596 edition of the *Thesaurus Geographicus* owned by the John Carter Brown Library—one of a very few copies housed in U.S. collections—recently yielded a surprising discovery: Ortelius had noted the jigsaw-puzzle fit of the Old and New Worlds long before anyone else, and had set out on a train of reasoning that would eventually lead to the modern theory of continental drift.

In the *Thesaurus* entry concerning "Gadiricus," a province of the mythical island Atlantis, Ortelius largely concurred with Plato's notion that a small piece of Atlantis had survived the island's submergence to become Gadir or Cadiz. However, Ortelius went on to note, what Plato described as the "sinking" of Atlantis may have actually been a violent displacement toward the West, such that the huge island had become the latter-day Americas. As evidence of such a displacement, Ortelius

turned to his own experience as cartographer. "The vestiges of the rupture reveal themselves, if someone brings forward a world-map and carefully considers the coasts of three parts of the earth, where they face each other—I mean the projecting parts of Europe and Africa, along with the recesses of America." In seeking to correct the mythology of Plato, Ortelius had stumbled onto the notion that landmasses which seemed to fit together might long ago have been pulled apart—the rudiments of what we know today as the continental drift theory.

The magnitude of Ortelius's discovery in the *Thesaurus Geographicus* becomes apparent when one realizes that it would be another 160 years before the next recorded reference to the "jigsaw-puzzle world." In other words, the cartographic phenomenon that today seems obvious even to schoolchildren went unobserved until the mid-eighteenth century, save for Ortelius's one reference to it in the *Thesaurus Geographicus* of 1596.

James Romm was a National Endowment for the Humanities fellow at the Library in 1993–1994. At the time of his application he was a professor in the Department of Classics at Bard College, and now teaches classics at Fordham University.



Girolamo Benzoni,
De Historie, van de Nieuwe Weerelt

(Haarlem: P. van Weshus, 1610)

by BENJAMIN SCHMIDT

A FUNNY THING happened between the first appearance of Girolamo Benzoni's classic *Historia del mondo nuovo* (Venice, 1565) and its translation into Dutch as *De historie van de nieuwe weerelt* (Haarlem, 1610): the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1609).¹

At first glance, such neat bibliographic bookends to the central political event of late sixteenth-century Europe seem largely coincidental. Closer inspection, though, reveals a fascinating process of literary borrowing and geographic tinkering that linked American narratives with affairs in the Netherlands. To the Dutch rebels, descriptions of Spanish "tyranny" in the New World offered a "mirror" in which the true nature of the Hapsburg soul could be discerned. Pamphleteers exploited the presumed parallels between Spain's "Conquistas" at home and abroad, thus gaining the polemical upper hand in their war of words against Philip II. Along with Las Casas' *Brevissima relación*—published repeatedly in Dutch over the course of the Revolt—Benzoni's account fit perfectly into the rebels' program of smearing—"blackening," later historians would argue—the reputation of Castile.

The Dutch edition of Benzoni furnishes more than a simple piece of political propaganda, though. The translation of 1610 came from the pen of Karel van Mander, celebrated Dutch humanist, poet, and painter, and the role of so eminent a figure in the transmission of early Americana affords valuable—and rare—insight into the Dutch reception of the New World. For van Mander, war refugee though he was (his family fled Flanders for the Republic under pressure from Spain), gives a surprisingly thoughtful and broad-minded view of the course of the *Conquista*. A translator of Ovid and painter of pastoral landscapes, van Mander envisioned in the New World a golden age only recently disturbed by Europeans. Wooden boats brought iron weapons in search of golden treasure, suggested the poet, artfully, in a sonnet sequence that introduces the translation.

Hard iron weapons, never before seen

The sorrowful times that have come

The never bowed neck that must now
bear a heavy yoke;

Saturn's sweet age planted there for
eternity

Must [now] be shunted by this poor
nation

Hard and iron are the times that formerly
were golden.²

Benjamin Schmidt held a Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellowship at the Library in 1991. At the time of his application he was a Ph.D. candidate at Harvard University. Currently he is an assistant professor in the History Department at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Yet van Mander also recognized Spain's efforts to convert the "blind Indians" and the great energy expended for their "enlightenment." Alas, the dazzling riches of America proved too brilliant, blinding the Spaniards to their nobler task. Van Mander's sonnets conclude with an air of melancholy, yet with a difference. What the publisher (who wrote a separate preface for the volume) saw as "abominable and inhuman cruelty... against innocent Indians," van Mander, somewhat more subtly, perceived as a loss of innocence—though both at home and abroad.

1. Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del mondo nuovo* (Venice, 1565); idem, *De historie van de nieuwe weerelt, te weten de beschrijvinghe van West Indien*, trans. Karel van Mander (Haarlem, 1610).

2. Hard ijser wapen, daer te vooren noyt gesien
Ter droever tijt, daer quam in wissel boven dien
Den noyt gedwongen hals, swaer jock heeft moeten dulden:
Saturnij eeuwte soet, voor eeuwich daer geplant
Is dit ellendich volck, ghewisselt daer int lant
Hard ijserich is den tijdt, die was te vooren gulden.



William Crashaw.

A sermon preached in London before the Right Honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of His Maiesties counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the aduenturers in that plantation

(London: For W. Welby, 1610)

by JUAN E. TAZÓN

They that turne many to righteousness shall shine as the starres for ever and ever.

—Daniel, 12.3

THE WORDS QUOTED above figure at the bottom of the title page of one of the most puzzling works I have ever come across in my academic life: William Crashaw's *A Sermon preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea and others of his Majesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation*. Crashaw, no doubt, fully believed that the men in front of him on that distant day of 1610 (21 February), when he actually delivered his sermon, were about to carry out a holy mission which had the aim of putting "others" across the Atlantic on the "right" path. He, therefore, was there to encourage those who were abandoning their homeland to make a living, if they possibly could, on a strange stage *full of noises, sounds and sweet airs* and to—as he also said—"advance the propagation of the Gospels," following thus the royal orders of James I which had already pointed in the same direction.

The more than probable enthusiasm of the Puritan preacher, Bachelor of Divinity as we are informed in the same title page, did not, however, cloud his vision: across the sea lay a land which hid sinister dangers, about which he felt the need to inform those about to leave. The planters were thus provided on such a momentous day with a short, but highly illustrative, list of the most horrible creatures to fight

against and the most convenient means to do so. Three, according to him, were the ones to bear in mind: the Papists, the Devil, and the Theatre Players. All enemies of the strongest kind against whom the most powerful weapons would have to be used: The Holy Gospels for the first case; Angels against the Devil; and a final and desperate solution against the third, . . . prayers.

The men left London in an unknown mood, though it is most probable, as we can guess, that they had their doubts about the words of a man who had not set foot on the New World and never would. The voyage, however, was to prove historic: the five hundred colonists encountered a group commanded by Sir Thomas Gates which, on board nine ships, had previously met with a danger forgotten by the preacher, storms. One of the ships, the *Sea-Venture*, had even run aground on the coast of Bermuda, her crew miraculously escaping. Silvester Jourdain and William Strachey would soon, and by "advise and direction of the Councill of Virginia," write pamphlets dealing with the wreck. When they were finally published, a man read them who had perhaps—why not?—been present when Crashaw had blessed the Virginia enterprise. He already had a name on the London stage and many friends, among whom there were probably not many Puritan preachers. The tragedy

In 1991 Juan Tazón, a professor at the University of Oviedo, in Spain, became a Library fellow under the sponsorship of the Consul General of the government of Spain, in Boston. He continues as a professor in the Department of English at the same university.

without a tragic end immediately caught his eye: it had the “right stuff,” right enough perhaps for a play, a final and brilliant one with which to *melt into air, into thin air*, one to give a *troubled mind* a deserved rest. He thus set to work. By the winter of 1612–1613 the result was presented, among many other entertainments, at the betrothal and nuptials of a royal Princess, Elizabeth, with the Prince Palatine Elector. The title of the play was *The Tempest* and the proud author was a William Shakespeare whose life would, only a few years later (1616), *be rounded with a sleep*. What William Crashaw thought when the new play was cheered by the crowds, we do not know and never will, but he probably did not feel very happy about it. By then he had more than enough trying to destroy the Catholic inclinations of his son Richard, who would later on be an acclaimed poet. But one thing is certain: that the echo of a cry still sounds, thus troubling our ears. It springs from the throat of one of those “creatures of the Devil” whose destruction many “Crashaws” sought. His name was, is and will be *Caliban: This island is mine!*

A
S E R M O N
P R E A C H E D I N
L O N D O N before the right hono-
rable the Lord L A V V A R R E, Lord Gouver-
nour and Captaine Generall of V I R G I N E A,
and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that
Kingdome, and the rest of the Aduen-
turers in that Plantation.

AT THE SAID LORD GENERALL HIS
leau taking of ENGLAND his Natiue Countrey,
and departure for V I R G I N E A,
F E B R. 21. 1609.

By W. C R A S H A W Bachelor of Diuinitie,
and Preacher at the Temple.

Wherein both the lawfulnessse of that Action is
maintained, and the neccessity thereof is also demon-
strated, not so much out of the grounds of P O L I C I E,
as of H U M A N I T Y, E Q U I T Y, and
C H R I S T I A N I T Y.

Taken from his mouth, and published by direction.

Daniel 12. 3.

They that turne many to righteousnesse, shall shine as the starres for euer and euer.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Welby*, and are to be sold
in Pauls Church-yard at the signe
of the Swan. 1610.

Fernando Colón.
Historie del sig. don Fernando Colombo.
Nelle quali s'ha particolare, & vera relatione
della vita, & de' fatti dell'ammiraglio don
Christoforo Colombo suo padre

(Milano: G. Bordonì, 1614)

by JOHN LARNER

THE ORIGINAL SPANISH version of the biography of Columbus written by his son, Ferdinand Colón, is lost, but an Italian translation of it, published at Venice in 1571, has survived. Unfortunately several scholars, pointing to all manner of curious things in it, have argued that this is a forgery. As, for instance, the claims found there that Columbus was of extraordinarily noble blood, that he had attended the University of Padua, that he first arrived in Portugal as the result of being shipwrecked in a daring sea-fight against the Venetians, and so on.

Thinking of this, it struck me that it might be useful to compare the edition of 1571 with the second edition, published at Milan in 1614 (both of course available in JCB), in order to look for any changes or afterthoughts. As far as the text was concerned, this proved a dead end: nothing had been altered. Yet in a curious way, because of the material which accompanied this edition, one seemed to be reading a different book. What the work now stood out as, above all, was a panegyric of Genoa. In his dedication to the Doge of that city, the editor declares that no other homeland has produced anyone greater or more valiant than Columbus. There follow proofs that Columbus was born in Genoa, copies of letters written by him to the government of the city, and extracts from his will and the codicil to it in which he declares himself a Genoese.

All is state-propaganda. Girolamo Bordonì, who republished the work and inspired the dedication (with its stirring concluding hope: "that for the glory of the city and its sons there may rise up new Columbuses, new Oceans, new Indies!"), was, I would learn, *Cerimoniere* of the Republic of Genoa, whose duties included precisely the exaltation of the greatness of the state. Given this, I reflected, first, on all those different political uses to which, over the centuries, the life of Columbus has been put. Then again, if the second edition were public propaganda, perhaps the first was the private propaganda of the Columbus family, its obvious falsehoods to be ascribed to that rather than to it being a forgery. Perhaps to read the work aright one needed to set it within the genre of Renaissance biography and contemporary expectations of biography. That, certainly, is a study as yet not undertaken.

John Larner was a Library fellow in the spring of 1985. At the time of his application he was a professor of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, where he is now a professorial research-fellow.

HISTORIE
DEL SIG. DON
FERNANDO
COLOMBO.

Nelle quali s'hà particolare, & vera relatione della Vita, & de' fatti dell'Ammiraglio Don CHRISTOFORO COLOMBO suo Padre.

Et dello scoprimento, ch'egli fece dell'Indie Occidentali, dette MONDO NUOVO, possedute dal Potentissimo Rè Catolico.

Già tradotte di lingua Spagnuola nell'Italiana, & hora fatte ristampare.

Con aggiunta di Lettere, & Testamento dell'Ammiraglio, & Dedicate

Alla Sereniss.

REPUBBLICA DI GENOVA,
DA GIROLAMO BORDONI.



IN MILANO,

Appresso Girolamo Bordoni, con Priuilegio,
Et licenza de' Superiori.

1614.

Willem Corneliszoon Schouten.
*Journal ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke
reyse, ghedaen door... Schouten... bezuyden de
Strate van Magellanes*

(Amsterdam: W. J. Blaeu, 1618)

by WILLIAM EISLER

WILLEM CORNELISZON SCHOUTEN'S account of his South Sea voyage in the *Eendracht* and the *Hoorn*, in the company of Jacob le Maire (1615-1617) was first published in 1618. Beyond its importance for the history of exploration in South America, the work constitutes a key text for the evolution of the image of Terra Australis and the myth of the Pacific Paradise. It played a vital role in my research for *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (1995).

The voyage of Schouten and Le Maire was undertaken on behalf of the latter's father, Isaac, and his Australian Company, which sought to break the trade monopoly of the Dutch East India Company in the East. They sailed from east to west round the southern extremity of America, which they named Cape Hoorn, through the passage to the south which bears the name of Jacob le Maire. They designated the island located to the south of this body of water "the Statenland," since it was thought to be a peninsula of an enormous continental land mass linked in some fashion to Dutch discoveries in and around Australia (New Holland). New Zealand, discovered in 1642, was likewise designated the Statenland on early Dutch maps.

The shining vision of that legendary Australian continent had been evoked in the famous Eighth Memorial of the Portuguese explorer Pedro Fernández de Quirós, and it was this text that was read to the crews of Schouten and Le Maire's vessels. Even though the hypothetical land of plenty was not to be found, Schouten's travel book provides a valuable early account of Tonga and Futuna, thought to lie near the Austrialia de Espíritu Santo of Quirós (actually Vanuatu).

The pictures and text in Schouten's work reflect the mixed reactions of Dutch voyagers confronting Pacific island culture for the first time. On the one hand, their disgust in reaction to the kava ceremony and the alleged physical deformities and immoral behavior of the natives—particularly the women—is indicative of the European mentality of the time. Yet in other respects their impression of the islands and their inhabitants was a positive one. The engraved illustration of an outrigger canoe is the earliest known. Schouten observes, moreover, that the islanders lived a carefree existence, like the birds in the forest: "the earth of itself gives them all that they need to support life." With words reminiscent of Vespucci's utopian accounts of South America, the Dutch voyager described an idyllic world, which in his view corresponded to the Golden Age recounted by the poets.

The vision of the Earthly Paradise evoked in these passages would be echoed in later accounts of the South Pacific.

At the time of his appointment in 1988 as a Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellow, William Eisler was a curator at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Cambridge University Press has recently published *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* by Dr. Eisler, who currently resides in Switzerland.



G

Pablo José de Arriaga.
Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru

(Lima: G. de Contreras, 1621)

by RODRIGO CÁNOVAS

QUIERO CONTARLES DE qué manera el libro *Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru* (Lima, 1621), del jesuita Pablo Joseph Arriaga, logró modificar mi lectura de la *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* del indio peruano don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, escrita a comienzos del siglo XVII.

Tenía yo una visión bastante romántica de Guamán Poma. Me lo imaginaba como un indio que fue capaz de rescatar la memoria de su pueblo desde la religión católica, acusando a los conquistadores (y también a los padres de doctrina) de ser malos cristianos. Esto es básicamente verdadero; sin embargo, yo no lograba visualizar con claridad qué ideas y sensaciones andinas no pudo rescatar Guamán, es decir, cuál fue su renuncia. Intelectualmente, yo conocía la respuesta: él renunció a la adoración de idolatrias. ¿Qué significaba aquello?

El libro del Padre Arriaga es un testimonio de las visitas oficiales hechas en los años 1617 y 1618 a diversos poblados del Perú, con el objeto de inquirir sobre las huacas o ídolos locales y luego proceder a su destrucción. Se interrogaba a los indios, anotándose sus declaraciones en un libro blanco, el cual servía en el futuro como una ayuda de memoria para bien extirpar las idolatrías. Habiendo el jesuita concluido que los indios seguían adorando a sus huacas, publicó en 1621 un manual para ser usado en futuras visitas.

Guamán Poma acusó a los incas de haber introducido la adoración idolátrica en el Perú. Leyendo el texto del Padre Arriaga, pude no sólo comprender cabalmente los capítulos de esa crónica indígena dedicados a denunciar esas prácticas, sino que también pude darme cuenta que la crítica contemporánea había reprimido la lectura de esa *Nueva coronica* como un libro blanco, diseñado también como manual de cabecera para visitantes de pueblos.

Aclaremos. La crónica de Guamán es un texto de isotopía múltiple. Así, en una de sus versiones—lateral, menos marcada—, se revela como un manual de extirpación. Sin embargo, será un manual *andino*, puesto que propone la extirpación de sólo algunas tradiciones religiosas, exaltando otras condenadas por la Iglesia.

Tanto el Padre Arriaga como el indio Felipe eran fervientes católicos, quienes pusieron todos sus esfuerzos para salvar a la comunidad andina. Eso sí, uno era un católico hispánico mientras que el otro era un católico del Nuevo Mundo—un mundo de diferencias entre ellos.

Rodrigo Cánovas was a Tinker-Lampadia Fellow at the Library in 1991–92. At the time of his application he was an associate professor in the Department of Literature at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile where he continues to teach.

Pablo José de Arriaga.
Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru
(Lima: G. de Contreras, 1621)

by RODRIGO CÁNOVAS

I WANT TO DESCRIBE how the book *Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru* (Lima, 1621), by the Jesuit priest Pablo Joseph Arriaga, modified my reading of a work by the Peruvian Indian, Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, the *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, written at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

I used to have a fairly romantic view of Guamán Poma. I thought of him as an Indian who was able to redeem the memory of his people by making use of the Catholic religion, by accusing the conquistadors (as well as the priests) of being bad Christians. This is basically true. However, I did not clearly understand what Andean ideas and sensibilities Guamán was not able to redeem, in other words, what he renounced. Superficially, I knew the answer: he renounced the adoration of idols. But what did that mean?

Father Arriaga's book is a record of the official visits he made in the years 1617 and 1618 to various towns of Peru, for the purpose of inquiring about Indian burial grounds and local idols, with the intention of bringing about their destruction. He interrogated the Indians and noted their declarations in a notebook, which would later serve as a memory aid for the extirpation of idolatries. Concluding that the Indians continued to worship their burial grounds, in 1621 the Jesuit published the *Extirpación* as a manual to be used in future visits.

Guamán Poma accused the Incas of having introduced idolatrous worship in Peru. Reading the text of Father Arriaga, not only could I fully comprehend Guamán Poma's chapters devoted to denouncing these practices, but I also could see that scholars writing about Guamán Poma have failed to perceive that the *Nueva Coronica* is also a notebook of idolatries, designed as a manual for visitors to the villages, but with a twist.

Let me clarify. Guamán's chronicle is a text open to multiple readings. In one of these—more subtle, less pronounced—it appears to be simply a manual of extirpation. However, it should be seen as an *Andean* manual, since it proposes the extirpation of only some religious traditions, exalting others that were condemned by the Church.

Father Arriaga and the Indian Felipe were both fervent Catholics, who put all their efforts into saving the Andean community. Of course, one was a Hispanic Catholic, while the other was a Catholic of the New World—a world of difference between them.

Translation by LISA VOIGT

EXTIRPACION
DE LA
IDOLATRIA
DEL PIRU.

DIRIGIDO AL REY N. S. EN SVN
A REAL CONSEJO DE INDIAS.

Por el Padre Pablo Ioseph de Arriaga de la
Compañia de IESVS.

PL. II. NVNCIABO NOMEN TVVM



*Por el Colegio de San Felipe
de Lima de Contreras*

EN LIMAS,

Por GERONYMO de CONTRERAS Impressor de Libros:
Con Licencia. Año 1621.

Caspar Plautius (pseud. Honorius Philoponus).
Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio.
Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis. . .

(Linz, 1621)

by HERBERT KNUST

THIS CONTROVERSIAL EARLY seventeenth-century book, considered important by some and impudent by others, and frequently pillaged for its copper engravings, uses the travel genre, legend, history of discovery, and New World images of barbarism to bring home a traditional missionary message of the carrying of Christian order into heathen chaos. Unusual, however, are the ways in which the author, abbot of an Austrian monastery, breaks a lance for the Benedictines as the first New World missionaries and includes himself in a skillful network of contemporary Catholic propaganda. For this learned Latin book, as well as a popular, illustrated German extract, appeared at a time when nearby historical events had triggered new religious confrontations that developed into the Thirty Years' War. Protestantism was the great horror, and our author's assaults on infidels and heretics work on several levels: the adventure story around Father Boyl from the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia portrays the Catholic Church fighting barbarism and cannibalism; the models for this story came from Spanish historians, Church history, and especially De Bry's Great Travels—but De Bry was a Protestant, hence a heretic, hence a liar (consequently, in competitive dialogue with de Bry, some history is reinvented). The analogy between barbarism and Protestantism makes the New World turmoil applicable to (or expressive of) Old World disaster. Written by an author whose hobby was alchemy, the work, distilled from diverse sources, is a fanciful product of an *ecclesia militans*,

steeped in a spirit of religious war at home and abroad—from anti-Reformation through anti-barbarism to apocalypse, and, lastly, a promise of salvation.

The rare book treasures of the John Carter Brown Library and the untiring assistance of its most helpful staff made it possible to trace many of the learned abbot's sources and to pursue some of its textual and iconographic influence on other significant books of the time, e.g., Christoph Arnold's *Auserlesenen Zugaben/von den Asiatischen/Africanischen/und Amerikanischen Religionssachen* in Abraham Rogerius' *Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heidenthum* (Nürnberg, 1663), or Erasmus Francisci's *Ost- und West-Indischer wie auch Sinesischer Lust- und Stats-Garten* (Nürnberg, 1668). The 18 plates by the Augsburg artist Wolfgang Kilian, depicting scenes from the St. Brendan legend, the conquista, missionary work, native customs, and plants, are in part prompted by material in De Bry but also take issue with De Bry. The rare large foldout picture of 1622, attached to some copies of the book, shows Father Boyl with his twelve companions, escorted to the New World by Columbus (copied from De Bry's Pizarro) and his crew on his second voyage in 1493.

In the spring of 1992 Herbert Knust held a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship at the Library. At the time of his appointment he was a professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures and in the Program of Comparative Literature at the University of Illinois at Urbana where he continues to teach.



Sir William Vaughan,
*The Newlanders cure. As well of those violent sicknesses which
 distemper most minds in these latter dayes: as also by a cheape
 and newfound dyet, to preserve the body sound and free from all
 diseases, untill the last date of life, through extreamity of age.
 Wherein are inserted generall and speciall remedies against scurvy,
 goute, coughes, collicke, feavers, sea-sickness, and other grievous
 infirmities. published for the weale of Great Brittain*

(London: N. O. [Nicholas Oakes?] for F. Constable, 1630)

by DAVID ROSEN

THE FULL TITLE of *The Newlanders Cure* conveys the pleasingly curious nature of Sir William Vaughan's work. Phrases like "sicknesses which distemper most Minds" suggest spiritual cures. "Newlanders" and "Newfound" say this work concerns Newfoundland. "Weale of Great Brittain" imports larger nationalistic purpose. Even the book's two-part division is curious. The first part treats bodily infirmity; the other prescribes poems collected for their "Matter/More than the Meeter."

Vaughan's book is not really about medicinal diet or the New World. The book concerns Christian living, as the dedicatory epistle states: "Here you may behold . . . many sickely faces . . . of pretended Christians, with Heathenish Conditions" (A3^r). Vaughan uses the New World and disease merely as figures for his reformative purpose, though not metaphorical figures. Physical ailments are symptoms of spiritual ailments. New Foundland literally offers the spiritual refreshment that it also symbolizes.

I arrived at JCB to pursue the impact of England's New World experience on Jacobean cultural changes. Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece* (1626) purported to be the first complete volume of British New World poetry. I looked for traces there.

But *The Newlanders Cure* proved more interesting. The seventeenth-century desire to control ingestion as a means of control-

ling behavior had begun to intrigue me. *The Newlanders Cure* is a cover-to-cover casebook of this idea. Vaughan had been obsessed with ingestion and its connection to mental states that formed behavior. For Vaughan, imagination causes bad ingestion. "Vapours from the Stomacke . . . overcome the cleare Rayes of Reason," which happens when one exceeds "lawfull measure" (14). Such excess "[s]prings of the apprehension of Imagination, whereby varieties of meates are conceived to bee very pleasing to the senses." One, therefore, must endeavour "to correct this depraved imagination" (16). But by correcting diet one corrects imagination, for "the apprehension of the fantasy is conformable to the disposition of the Body" (30). A curious circle of causes and effects.

Also making the book so beautifully curious is Vaughan's use of devices of the imagination, like poetry, to suppress the imagination: matter not meter. Works of metaphysical poets often attempted to train readers to avoid the most tempting mental foods set before them, like meter. Milton did that in *Paradise Lost*. Vaughan did it in his curious little book shelved at the JCB, *The Newlanders Cure*.

David Rosen was a fellow at the Library in the spring of 1992 when he was an associate professor at the University of Maine at Machias. He is currently a professor in the Department of English at the same university.

The Newlanders CVRE.

Aswell of those Violent sicknesses
which distemper most *Minds* in these
latter *Dayes*: As also by a Cheape and
Newfound *Dyet*, to preserve the
Body sound and free from all Diseases,
vntill the last date of Life, through
extreameity of Age.

Wherein are inserted generall and
speciall Remedies against the

<i>Scurvy.</i>	}	<i>Goute.</i>
<i>Coughes.</i>	}	<i>Collicke.</i>
<i>Feaners.</i>	}	<i>Sea-sicknesses,</i>

And other grieuous In-
firmities.

Published for the Weale of Great Brittain,
By Sir William Vaughan, Knight.

Vbi Lux sicca, ibi Intellectus multus.

Imprinted at *London* by *N. O.* for *F. Constable,*
and are to be sold at his Shop in *Pauls Church*
at the signe of the *Craine.* 1630.

Gabriel Sagard.

Le grand voyage du pays des hurons, situé en l'Amérique vers la mer douce, és derniers confins de la Nouvelle France, dite Canada . . . Avec un dictionnaire de la langue huronne, pour la commodité de ceux qui ont à voyager dans le pays, & n'ont l'intelligence d'icelle langue

(Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632)

by LIEVE JOOKEN

THE STORY OF Gabriel Sagard is that of a young Recollect lay-brother who spent ten months among the Hurons of New France in 1624, but was not physically strong enough to endure the missionary life he had so keenly prepared himself for. He left his successors an account of the life and customs of the Indians and a list of useful Huron phrases. Until the nineteenth century, it was the only French monograph on an Iroquois language and remains one of the most complete accounts now extant of "old Huron". The book must have been widely read, for a new edition soon followed in 1636. In the next century, however, it became "extremely rare" according to the Scottish 18th-century judge Lord Monboddo (James Burnett), who knew of only two copies, one in the British Museum and the other in the French King's library in Paris, still today the only two copies in institutional libraries in Europe.

Sagard's book was the oldest I read during my research and the one I most looked forward to, partly because it had been called the epitome of seventeenth-century descriptions of exotic languages, which typically insisted on their "imperfection." Yet most of all I wanted to study the book because as a note inside the cover of the JCB copy states: "It was the perusal of this Dictionary which led Lord Monboddo to undertake his work on the Origin and Progress of Language." I wanted

to find out if it was Sagard or Monboddo himself who concluded that Huron speech was "confusing" because its speakers had "confounded notions."

The double image of the Indian "savage," part brute part noble, which takes shape in Sagard's story of Huron life also pervades his dictionary comments. He calls the language "imparfait" but also "grave & magistrale" and even admires the flexibility of its grammatical structure: "Ils ont un grand nombre de mots, qui sont autant de sentences, & d'autres composez qui sont tres beaux." [They have many words which are equivalent to whole sentences, and others that are compounded which are very beautiful.] Monboddo chose to ignore comments like these. While Sagard tried to grasp the intricate Huron grammar of inflection and illustrates the relevance of accent and rhythm, his Scottish interpreter saw only the deviant nature of the phrases, and typically takes examples out of context. In short, the hours I spent with this book taught me that it always pays to look beyond the reputation of a text, because the original may be less biased than is commonly thought.

Lieve Jooker was a Charles H. Watts Memorial Fellow at the Library in the spring of 1995. At the time of her application she was a research and teaching assistant in the Department of Linguistics at the Katholieke Universiteit in Leuven, Belgium. She is currently completing her doctoral dissertation on "The Linguistic Conceptions of Lord Monboddo (1714-1799)."





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IHS

LE GRAND
VOYAGE DV PAYS
des Hurons, situe en L'A-
merique uers la mer douce
ez dernieres confins de
la nouvelle France

Ou il est traicte de tout
ce qui est du pays & du
gouuernement des Sauvages

Avec un Dictionnaire
de la Langue huronne

Par Fr. Gabriel Sagard
Recollet de S^t Francois
de la province S^t Denis

Jespar Tene J.



A. PARIS Chez Denys
Moreau rue S^t Jacques a
La Salamandre 1672.

CABANE.

SEV. CRA.

CA

NOT

Bartolomé de Alva.
*Confessionario mayor, y menor
en lengua mexicana*

(Mexico: F. Salbago, 1634)

by BARRY D. SELL

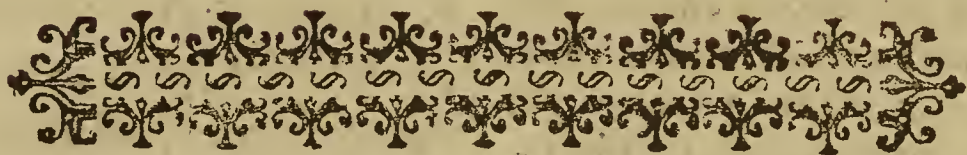
DON BARTOLOMÉ DE ALVA Ixtlil-xochitl's *Confessionario mayor y menor en lengua mexicana* (Large and small confessional manual in the Mexican language, 1634) is one of many extant colonial publications in an American Indian language. Although such works were produced first and most copiously in Mexico, today they are little known—and even more rarely used—by modern scholars. The absence of such material in most research agendas has been particularly felt in the study of the first peoples of the Americas. Imagine studying the Roman Empire or Nazi Germany without using texts in Latin or German!

Don Bartolome's book is important for a number of reasons. First, by writing it in Nahuatl (Aztec) and Spanish he continued a bilingual publishing tradition that began with mainland America's first imprint, a Nahuatl/Spanish book of Christian doctrine (1539). He himself literally embodied that bicultural approach for he was descended from high Nahua (Aztec) nobility and Spanish immigrants, counting pre-Hispanic kings and colonial historians and interpreters among his ancestors. Of equal significance is that as one of the first mestizos and secular clerics to write an indigenous-language publication he symbolically prefigures changes in Mexican ethnicity and the Church. Timing was critical as well. His manual appeared during the last years of the "golden age" of colonial Nahuatl publications when almost all the more original, germinal, unusual, and influential writings left the presses. Lastly,

the book provides raw material for topics which go far beyond the Nahua brand of Christianity. Among them can be included the nature of colonial Nahua society, family life, sexuality, and literacy.

I am currently preparing a critical edition of this key text which includes a full transcription and translation so that it is accessible to a broad educated public. The explanatory apparatus will include essays by me, by a Mexicanist who has done extensive research on the author and his family, and by a Europeanist who is thoroughly acquainted with contemporary Spanish confessional manuals. The project is part of my longer-range effort to make scholars of various disciplines more aware of the research potential of indigenous-language publications, particularly those associated with the church of early modern Latin America.

Barry Sell had recently received his Ph.D. at the University of California at Los Angeles when he became a fellow at the Library in 1994. An avid student of the Nahuatl language, Dr. Sell will be a Research Fellow at the University of Calgary during the 1996–1997 school year.



CONFESSIONARIO MAYOR.

En lengua Mexicana, y Castellana.

CON TODAS LAS PLATICAS PARA
reprehender los vicios de los Naturales, y
mouerlos a la virtud. Necessarias para
todos los Ministros.

TENONOTZALIZ-
tli inic moçen nonotzaz-
que maçehualtin in itech-
copa monemachtizq;inin
neyolcuitiliz, in yquac
Teopan quinqentlalia,
quin cenquixtia inin
Teopixcahuan
Quaresmatica.

MA Yehuatzin in çe-
manahuac ipal ne-
moaloni Dios, amech mo
maquili in ilhuicac iteo-
tlanetzin: in nican axcan
oàhuallaque oàçenquiza-
co,

PLATICA, QUE
en comun, y general se de-
ue hazer à los Naturales,
del Sacramēto de la Penitē-
cia, quando sus Ministros
los juntan en las Yglefi-
as las Quaresmas.

Dios Soberano, y todo
poderoso, que es á cu-
ya voluntad viuimos, os dè,
y comunique su Diuina luz
a todos los q̃ aqui en su Sã-

A

10

Thomas Lechford.

Plain dealing: or, newes from New-England

(London: W. E. and I. G. for N. Butter, 1642)

by ALAN CROMARTIE

*P*lain dealing: or, newes from New-England was published in London in January 1642. Its author, Thomas Lechford, was deeply disappointed by his experience of three years in colonial Massachusetts, and vented his frustration by printing this "short view of New England's present government, both ecclesiastical and civil, compared with the anciently-received and established government of England." Lechford was by profession an attorney, and hoped to transplant his professional life to the puritan New World. He might have overcome the authorities' reluctance to accept this, had he not also had a taste for speculation in theology, combined with a compulsion to share his unpopular views (including, latterly, a perverse and disastrous conversion to strong episcopalian beliefs). His eighty-page pamphlet in quarto, written on his return, is a highly perceptive if jaundiced account of the peculiarities of the society the puritans made. Colonial historians have always found it indispensable, especially for its insistence on the uniqueness and significance of the restrictions on church membership.

Yet Lechford's little book was not so much an expert piece of social observation as a well-judged intervention in contemporary *English* debate. My interest in New England stems from the nature of the colonists as a self-selecting sample of English puritans; Lechford's approach was rather similar. He was writing at a time when the question of the proper role of bishops had taken center-stage in politics. Most puritan opinion thought of the rule of bishops as the root of all the discord in the English polity. Lechford defended bishops by showing that colonial arrangements were neither uniform nor undisputed, that congregationalism divided its society by its conditions for church membership, and that New England ministers were also prone to lord it over laymen. This project led him to discuss a topic that is central to my own work on English politics. I am inclined to stress the inherently radical nature of puritan ideas; Lechford suggestively deplored the puritan love of "electory ways" both in religious and in civil life. As he maliciously observed, their freeman's oath did not contain "that ordinary saving," reserving full allegiance to the King, though he hoped, as he silkily added, "it may be implied." Lechford's embittered insights, so useful to the scholar of colonial history, cast light upon developments on both sides of the North Atlantic Ocean.

Alan Cromartie was a Barbara S. Mosbacher Fellow at the Library in the fall of 1992.

At the time of his appointment he was a research fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge University, England.

Dr. Cromartie is currently a fellow of Christ's College at Cambridge.

PLAIN DEALING:
O R,
NEVVES
FROM
New-England.

*(Vivat Rex Anglia Carolus,
Vivat Anglia,
Vivantq; eorum Amici omnes.)*

A short view of NEW-ENGLANDS
present Government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil,
compared with the anciently-received and esta-
blished Government of ENGLAND, in
some materiall points; fit for the gravest
consideration in these times.

By THOMAS LECHFORD of Clements Inne,
in the County of Middlesex, Gent.

*Levis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest,
Et clepere sese; Magna non latitant mala. Sen.*



L O N D O N,
Printed by W. E. and I. G. for Nath: Butter, at the signe
of the pyde Bull neere S. Austins gate. 1642.

*Certain inducements to well minded people,
who are here straitned in their estates or otherwise:
or such as are willing out of noble and publike
principles, to transport themselves, or some
servants, or agents for them into the West-Indies,
for the propagating of the Gospel and increase
of trade*

(London, 1643?)

by KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN

MY RESEARCH DURING my fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library concerned the puritan colony on Providence Island (1630–1641) off the coast of Nicaragua. The investors in this English settlement plan were determined to restrict their membership to a very small number of elite puritans and their colonists to hand-picked clients. Historians usually rely on promotional tracts, designed to solicit investors and colonists, for information about the plans and shape of New World settlements. None of this material was available for Providence Island, however; my principal materials consisted of the company records and a handful of letters. The rich materials of the John Carter Brown Library would offer key insights into the context in which the colony was created, I thought, but not printed works about the colony itself. No historian has ever located any published material written to promote the venture.

Karen Ordahl Kupperman was a National Endowment for the Humanities fellow in 1989. At the time of her application she was a professor of history at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. In the fall of 1996, after a year at the Huntington Library in California, she became professor of history at New York University.

Imagine my excitement then, when, using the JCB's chronological catalogue, I discovered a pamphlet entitled *Certain Inducements To well minded People, Who are here straitned in their Estates or otherwise: or such as are willing out of Noble and publike Principles, to transport Themselves, or some Servants, or Agents for them into the West-Indies, for the propagating of the Gospel and increase of TRADE* (1643?). The question mark stemmed from the highly unusual fact that it was published without a title page.

This pamphlet has never been fully identified. But I firmly believe it was a last desperate attempt of the Providence Island Company to hold on to their venture by settling English planters on the Mosquito Coast. Their colony on Providence Island has been expelled by a Spanish attack in 1641, and the English Civil War, in which the Providence Island investors played a leading role, began in 1642. Just as events were overtaking them, the backers threw open the doors.

The pamphlet begins with a call to bring Christianity to the coast Indians, who, according to the author, hate the Spanish and ask to be given English names. That the author was a puritan is indicated by his call to the "many thousands" who are suffering "the plundering

and utter ruin of their Estates, by the cruelty of the Cavaliers, or through the decay of Trading." The investors promised a land where plenty would allow "a godly people" to be "more liberal to God in public and domestic duties."

In their desperation to hang on, company members offered immigrants vast estates to be owned in freehold provided they went immediately. Certain promised products tie the pamphlet specifically to the Providence Island venture. "Dette," the Moskito name for vanilla, was a product only that colony had sought to develop. Turtling was another Providence Island enterprise, and the varieties of turtles matched in the two ventures. The pamphlet also built on the colonists' detailed information about the Moskito Coast. Only a collection with the scope and depth of the JCB can offer such exciting opportunities for research.



(1)

Certain Inducements

To well minded

PEOPLE,

Who are here straitned in their Estates or otherwise: or such as are willing out of Noble and public Principles, to transport Themselves, or some Servants, or Agents for them into the *West-Indies*, for the propagating of the Gospel, and increase of TRADE.



Here seemes to bee a great Gate opened to the Gospels entrance upon the *Indians*, a great part of them being already for the most part reduced to civill government, & cohabitation, to live in callings, to speak *Spanish* (which is a Language very easie to bee learned) and some to writing and reading; yea, the wildest *Indians* upon the Southern Main, have bin found to be very open to conviction in their Religion, and others, (yea, even hundreds) have earnestly desired to live somewhere under the *English* Government, paying Tribute, and would desirously learne their Religion: as being resolved the *Spaniards* Religion cannot bee good, the Professors thereof are of so evil conversation, they generally love the *English*, and some are proud to have the *English* names put upon them; they have
A some

Francisco de Avila.
*Tratado de los Evangelios, que nuestra
madre la Iglesia propone en todo el año*

(Lima, 1646-48)

by TEODORO HAMPE-MARTÍNEZ

ES LA OBRA de madurez de Francisco de Ávila, clérigo mestizo, natural del Cuzco, a quien se conoce especialmente por su tarea de recopilación etnográfica en la provincia de Huarochirí. Fue el propio Avila quien, convencido de la ineficacia de las misiones evangelizadoras en la sierra del Perú, lanzó a principios del siglo XVII las campañas de "extirpación" de los cultos e ídolos tradicionales de los indios. Con toda la experiencia recogida en estas campañas, redactó al final de su vida el *Tratado de los Evangelios*. Aquí se contiene una colección de 122 sermones en castellano y quechua, que el autor presenta en textos paralelos a dos columnas.

Para el objeto de mi investigación, centrada en el inventario de la enorme biblioteca particular que dejó Ávila al morir en Lima (1647), interesa especialmente el prefacio a esta obra. Es en las páginas introductorias donde el autor justifica sus pioneras campañas de "extirpador de idolatrías" y propone los medios más convenientes para la evangelización de los nativos, señalando la necesidad de acomodar los dogmas de la fe católica a la cosmovisión andina. Lo más importante, sin embargo, es comprobar que la mayoría de los libros y autores citados en el prefacio se hallan correlativamente en el inventario de la biblioteca. Allí estaban el Antiguo Testamento y los comentarios bíblicos de Alfonso Salmerón, las *Confesiones* de San Agustín y la *Summa* de Santo Tomás de Aquino, las sentencias de Cicerón, los *Annales ecclesiastici* de Cesare Baronio y las resoluciones

del Concilio de Trento, entre otros. Estas son sólo algunas referencias selectas de la formación intelectual del autor del *Tratado de los Evangelios*, que poseía una biblioteca particular de 3.108 volúmenes, ciertamente la más grande de toda Hispanoamérica a mediados del siglo XVII.

Por lo demás, la obra propiamente dicha es interesante en virtud de la exposición sencilla, clara y atractiva que hace de las verdades fundamentales del catolicismo. Francisco de Ávila se muestra capaz de trasladar a la lengua quechua, con elegancia y precisión, la terminología propia de un universo espiritual que era ajeno a las comunidades andinas. Curiosamente, los sermones del *Tratado* se construyen a base de diálogos imaginarios con los oyentes nativos, por donde se reflejan las ideas o principios teológicos que los indios no comprendían bien o rechazaban. Aquí reside pues todo un modelo de ejercicio pastoral, muy lejano al carácter destructor con que suele aparecer Ávila en las "extirpaciones de idolatrías."

In the fall of 1989, at the time of his fellowship at the Library, Teodoro Hampe-Martínez was a professor of history at the Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima. He was subsequently associated with the University of Cologne, the University of Vienna, and the University of Toulouse, but since 1994 he has resumed his teaching position in Lima.

zo el leproso pidiendo a Christo Señor nuestro la salud, y esa, y la salud de su alma consiguio. Noj otros pues hagamoslo así de todo corazón cō que Dios nos darā aqui su gracia, y en el cielo la bien auenturança. Amen.

chic lleccēti oncoce rurarccan alliyānā ta Dios manta mañaspā, chaytari vca chirecan, animampa alli yanantapas. Noecanchiepas hinatacc rurasun tui- cui sonceonchichuā hinaptinchicēca, caypim Dios gracia nta ccohuacūn ha- nacc pachapii viñaycauayta. Amē.

DOMINICA QVARTA POST EPIPHANIAM.

Ascendens Iesus in nauiculam, secuti sunt eum Discipuli eius.

Matth. 8. Cap.

ESV Christo Señor Nuestro mientras aniendo se hecho homa bre estubo en la tierra, denin- guna manera se descuydō (ni podía ser) en obrar nuestro biē y por esso yva de un lugar a otro y otras vezes salia al campo, y otras se embarca- ua, y entraua en la mar para passar a otro lugar, esto nos dize oy san Mateo en su Evangelio, y pa- ra que yo acierte a predicarlo, y vosotros lo oyais qual conuiene, pidamos la gracia, y a la Virgen con la Aue Maria, tambien la supli- quemos nos la alcançe diziendo: Aue Maria,

Ascendens Iesus, &c.

DIZE pues, hijos mios, san Mateo, q̄ Christo Señor Nuestro, passaua de un lugar a otro en vn nauiō por la mar con sus Discipulos, estan do ya en el golfo, Iesus se durmiō, y los otros vientos de una, y otra parte ventearon fuerte- mente, y la mar con esto leuantando se- rribles olas, se queria tragar la naue, y Iesus dormia; y viendo se los Discipulos en tan gran- de aprieto, se le llegaron, y recordaron dizen- do: Señor ya estamos para morir, y a estā la mar para tragar se esta naue, libradnos pues. Y Ie- sus le

ESV Christo Yayanichic caypachapi runatucuf- ca captin; manapuni m allicananchicta. ruray- pacc ymallactapas ha- quereccancho: chayray- cūm huc llactamanta, huc mari rirccā ñañispari putūman. Illofeco ccat- ecan, ñañispari huampupi ccochacta chimparccan huc llactamanta hoemā tijpacc: cāytāmcūnān. San Mateo ñi huanchic Evangelio mpi, ñocap chay cama mastettāñāypacc, ccamcūñā- pas vyatincea yquichicpacc. Dios pā gracia nta mañaspā, Santa Maria ma- nanchictapas muchay cusecay qui Ma- ria huan mañapuanccanchicpacc mā- pāy cūfun: amē.

Ninmi, churicunaya, san Mateo, Iesus Yayanichicē huc llactamanta hūac chimpapi cacewan huc huam- pūpi chimpayta munarccan. Na chau- pimpi cāprinri Iesus Yayanichic huc ñecepī q̄ritjēcūspā pāñurirccan. Huay- ra cūnari caymanta chaymanta ppi- eurtiptim ccocha ppiñarirccan, pocc- chirecā nanañapuni huampūcānill- puyta monacohina: Iesus ri-puñuch- carccan Discipulon cūnari chicañacqa- richypi caspa, ricchachirccan ñispa Yaya

Francisco de Avila.
*Tratado de los Evangelios, que nuestra
madre la Iglesia propone en todo el año*

(Lima, 1646-48)

by TEODORO HAMPE-MARTÍNEZ

THIS IS THE MOST accomplished work of Francisco de Avila, the mestizo clergyman and Cuzco native who is especially known for his ethnographic investigations in the province of Huarochirí. Convinced of the inefficacy of the evangelizing missions in the mountains of Peru, it was Avila himself who launched the "extirpation" campaign to eradicate the traditional idols and rituals of the Indians. With the experience gathered on these campaigns, he wrote the *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) near the end of his life. It contains a collection of 122 sermons in Spanish and Quechua, which the author presents in parallel texts in two columns.

For the purpose of my research, which focused on the inventory of the enormous private library that Avila left upon his death in Lima (1647), I studied the preface to this work in its entirety. It is in the introductory pages that the author justifies his campaign as the "extirpator of idolatries" and suggests the best means for the natives' evangelization, pointing out the necessity of accommodating Catholic dogmas to the Andean world-view. More important for my purposes, however, was to verify that the majority of the books and authors that Avila cited in the preface are found also in the inventory of the library.

There one could find the Old Testament and the Biblical commentaries of Alfonso Samerón, Saint Augustine's *Confessions* and Saint Thomas of Aquinas's *Summa*, the aphorisms of Cicero, Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* and the resolutions of the Council of Trent, among others. These are only a few references that may reveal something about the intellectual formation of the author of the *Tratado de los Evangelios*, who possessed a library of 3,108 volumes, certainly the largest in Spanish America in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Apart from this, the work itself is interesting in virtue of the simple, clear and attractive exposition that it makes of the fundamental truths of Catholicism. Francisco de Avila reveals himself capable of translating into the Quechuan language with elegance and precision the terminology of a spiritual universe foreign to the Andean communities. Curiously, the sermons of the *Tratado* are constructed on the basis of imaginary dialogues with native listeners, reflecting the theological principles or ideas that the Indians did not fully comprehend or rejected. Here is a true model of pastoral activity, very distant from the destructive character with which Avila usually appears in the "extirpations of idolatries."

Translated by LISA VOIGT

Fray Antonio Tello.
Chronica miscelanea

(Jalisco, Mexico, 1653)

by CARMEN CASTAÑEDA

DE SEPTIEMBRE A DICIEMBRE de 1992 consulté la Biblioteca John Carter Brown. Estaba interesada en localizar libros del siglo XVIII, descritos en el inventario de la imprenta de Guadalajara. Descubrí que la JCBL conserva importantes colecciones de libros devotos, muchos de los cuales se vendían en la tienda de libros de la imprenta.

Además pude consultar el manuscrito del libro segundo de la *Crónica Miscelánea* de Fray Antonio Tello, comprado por la JCBL a Nicolás León. Este manuscrito forma parte de una obra en seis libros. Se han conservado cinco, excepto el primero que ha desaparecido. Los libros segundo y tercero se encuentran en la JCBL y los libros cuarto, quinto y sexto en la Colección de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Guadalajara, Jalisco, México. Al final del libro sexto está la “Tabla de los capítulos que se contienen en esta Historia,” por la cual sabemos que el libro primero trata del descubrimiento de América, de su descripción física y de la conquista temporal y espiritual de la Nueva España y el Perú. El Libro segundo describe la Provincia de Xalisco y Nuevo Reino de la Galicia, el origen de los indios que la poblaron y los ritos y ceremonias de los coras, antes de examinar la predicación de los franciscanos y la conquista española, dirigida por Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. También trata de las fundaciones de villas y lugares de la Nueva Galicia. Además describe la expedición de Francisco

Vázquez de Coronado a Nuevo México y la de Francisco de Ibarra a Nueva Vizcaya. Este libro tiene un especial significado para mí y para los historiadores de la Nueva Galicia (hoy Jalisco, México) porque la historia de esta provincia se basa, en gran parte, en la *Crónica Miscelánea*, escrita en un buen estilo. Otros historiadores, como Matías de la Mota Padilla en su *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, han utilizado repetidamente la obra de Fray Antonio Tello.

El libro tuvo su primera edición en 1891 en Guadalajara por la Imprenta de “La República Literaria” de Ciro L. de Guevara y Compañía. José López Portillo y Rojas se encargó de la edición. En 1968 se publicó la segunda edición en tres volúmenes. La paleografía fue realizada por José Luis Razo Zaragoza con base en las copias del manuscrito que la JCBL facilitó al profesor José Cornejo Franco, director de la Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Guadalajara.

Carmen Castañeda was a Paul W. McQuillen Memorial Fellow at the Library in 1992. At the time of her appointment she was a professor at the Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico, where she continues today. She is also a researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social Occidente.

Fray Antonio Tello.
Chronica miscelanea

(Jalisco, Mexico, 1653)

by CARMEN CASTAÑEDA

FROM SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER 1992 I was a research fellow at the John Carter Brown Library. My goal was to locate eighteenth-century books described in the inventory of the Guadalajara press. I discovered that in the JCB's important collection of religious books were many titles that were also sold in the press's bookshop.

I also consulted the manuscript of the second book of the *Crónica Miscelánea* by Fray Antonio Tello, purchased by the JCBL from Nicolás León. This manuscript is part of a work in six volumes. Only five of these have been preserved, the first having disappeared. The second and third books are at the JCBL, while the fourth, fifth, and sixth books are in the Manuscript Collection at the Guadalajara State Public Library in Jalisco, Mexico.

At the end of the sixth book, there is an "Index of the chapters that are included in this History," through which we know that the first book dealt with the discovery of America, its physical description, and the temporal and spiritual conquest of New Spain and Peru. The second book describes the Province of Jalisco and the New Kingdom of Galicia, the origin of the Indian inhabitants, and the rites and ceremonies of the region, and then examines the preaching of the Franciscans, and the Spanish conquest, led by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. It also deals with the founding of towns and villages in New Galicia. It describes, as well, the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to New Mexico and that of Francisco de Ibarra to New Biscay.

This book is especially significant to me and to the historians of New Galicia (now Jalisco, Mexico) because the history of this province is based, in large part, on the well-written *Crónica Miscelánea*. Other historians, like Matias de la Mota Padilla in his *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia* (History of the Conquest of New Galicia), have used the work of Fray Antonio Tello repeatedly.

This book was first printed in 1891 in Guadalajara by the Republic of Letters Press of Ciro L. de Guevara and Company. José López Portillo y Rojas was responsible for its publication. In 1968 a second edition was published in three volumes. The transcription of the manuscript was done by José Luis Razo Zaragoza, based on a copy of the manuscript that the John Carter Brown Library provided to Professor José Cornejo France, director of the Guadalajara State Public Library.

Translation by LISA VOIGT

LIBRO SEGUNDO

De la Chronica Miscelanea, y conquista
Espiritual, y temporal de la sancta Pro^{va}.
Xalisco en el nuevo Reyno de Galicia,
y nueva Vizcaya, y descubrimiento de
el nuevo Mexico.

Argumento.

Describe la Prov.^a de Xalisco, y nuevo Reyno de Galicia, y trata del origen
que tubieron, y donde vinieron los Indios, que la poblaron, y del mundo en que
estaban sus cosas quando llegaron nros. Españoles, y de algunos Pro^{va}.
que los Indios tubieron de que abia de faltar su Religion de la nacion
Cora, y de sus Ritos, y ceremonias. De como los Religiosos de N. P. S. Fran.^{co}
vinieron a predicar a la Prov.^a de Xalisco, y Reyno de Mechoracan, de lo
que conquistó el Cap.^o Fran.^{co} Cortes de S. P. de Naventura a quien se siguió Nuño
de Guzman, y de lo sucedido en su conquista. De la salida que hicieron
de la florinda, Dorantes, Caua de Baca, Castillo, Maldonado, y el Negro Chirion
de las fundaciones de las Villas, y lugares de la Galicia. De como el tl.^o
Diego Per^o de la Torre vino por su de Residencia de Nuño de Guzman
y que de en el Gobierno. De la jornada que hizo Fran.^{co} Barquet Coronado
de Fribola, y la que hizo el Cap.^o Fran.^{co} de Barra en la Nueva Vi
caya, y de todo lo sucedido, así en estas conquistas, como de los varios
sucesos que a habido en este Reyno hasta este año de 1683.

Gutierre Velazquez de Ovando y Zarate.
*Memorial por via de disceptacion . . . en favor
de los naturales originarios benemeritos de las
provincias indianas, assi españoles, como Indios*

([Lima?, 1658?])

by MONICA BARNES

IN FEBRUARY OF 1615, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an elderly Peruvian Indian, was ready to send an important message to Phillip III of Spain. This missive, an illustrated letter more than one thousand pages long, exposing and protesting abuses in colonial Peru, has become a world-famous document. Implicit in Guaman Poma's project was the idea that the ultimate source of earthly justice was the monarch. This notion was beautifully expressed by one of Guaman Poma's contemporaries, the Spanish playwright Lope de Vega. In "El mejor alcalde el rey," Sancho, a laborer, appeals to King Alfonso VII to protect Elvira from the inappropriate attentions of the arrogant Don Tello.

Guaman Poma and Lope de Vega were not the only seventeenth-century writers who saw the king as the ultimate font of justice. A generation later, around 1658, Gutierre Velazquez de Ovando y Zarate, the Auditor General de la Real Armada en el mar del Sur, a Lima lawyer, and the grandson of conquistadores, sent his "Memorial por via de Disceptacion . . . en favor de los naturales originarios benemeritos de las Provincias Indianas, assi Españoles, como Indios" to the Spanish Court.

As a person born in the New World, Velazquez was disqualified from holding many high offices. He argues, in both Spanish and Latin, against the idea, grounded in both Roman and Iberian law, that it was intrinsically corrupt for a man to serve where he was born. Velazquez provides many references in support of his brief.

In a section written only in Spanish, Velazquez shifts his focus and protests the personal service required of Indians. In addition to labor at the Huancavelica mines, Indians were forced to work for Spanish officials, for indigenous chiefs, and for the clergy. Indians grew maize and wheat, pastured animals, served in wayside inns, worked in wineries, produced olive oil and sugar, built houses, and served as messengers. Velazquez cites the 1651 testimony of Don Christoval Ticsiluna Atol of Lima who said that many Indians were fleeing into the tropical forests on the eastern flanks of the Andes. Like Guaman Poma de Ayala, Don Christoval was apparently a literate Indian, and Velazquez considered him the natural equal of any Spaniard.

After his defense of the Indians, Velazquez lists the accomplishments of his grandfathers, his father, his brother, and himself. By demonstrating how much his family had done to enrich the crown and Christianize Peru's native inhabitants, Velazquez hoped to obtain offices for himself, and for his son, brothers, and cousins. We do not know the results of his petition, but it was probably unsuccessful, as previous petitions sent in 1636, 1654, and 1657 had been.

The memory of Velazquez has by now faded into obscurity. However, his Memorial helps us understand that Guaman Poma de Ayala was not working in a vacuum. Both Velazquez de Ovando y Zarate and Guaman Poma de Ayala were in the mainstream of a movement protesting Spanish abuses in colonial America.

Monica Barnes was a research fellow at the Library in 1988-89. At the time of her appointment she was a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University. Presently she is an Editor of the journal *Andean Past* and Book Review Editor of the *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal*.



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MEMORIAL POR VIA DE DISCEPTACION, PARA SV Magestad de nuestro Rey, y Señor Felipe Quarto, en fa- uor de los naturales originarios benemeritos de las Prouincias Indianas, assi Españoles, como Indios.

✓ POR EL LICENC^{do.} DON GVTIERRE VELAZQUEZ
de Ouando y Zarate, natural de la ciudad de la Plata, en el Perú, y Abogado
de la Real Audiencia de Lima, y Auditor General de la Real Armada,
en el mar del Sur.

*EN LAS PRIMERAS COLV MNAS DE CADA
plana está la disceptacion, ó memorial en Latin; en las segundas está en Romance;
de modo que se puede leer, ó solo el Latin, ó solo el Romance; y el A.B.C. dario que
está en las columnas de Latin, llama al que está de citas al margen; y los numeros
que están en las de Romance, llama á los que están encima de
las citas referidas del margen.*

Señor.

SAMVEL In Deum, vt dis-
cipulus in Magistrum, in-
tendeuat dieens (audit ser-
uus tuus.) Vbi per audire, dis-
cere silendo, sacrae paginae in-
terprætes trutinant peritiores.
Nec quid mirū scholam, in qua
coelestia arcana discuntur, tanto
silencio obrutam esse: quando
quidem etiam ea, in qua profa-
na inculcatur litteratura, silen-
tes potius, quam loquaces desi-
deret auditores.

A
Ambrosius,
serm. 2. in
Psalm. 13.

Vnde puto (ait Ambrosius) A
Pitagorā instituisse sectā, vt dis-

ci-

DEZIA Samuel a la Sacra, y
Real Magestad Diuina. Se-
ñor, tu fieruo oye. Donde los en-
tendidos de mayor realce inter-
pretaron el oyr por aprender.

Y no es de admirar, que en Es-
cuelas sagradas se aprenda callā-
do, quando es costumbre, y se
guarda la misma regla en las pro-
fanas.

Pues segun San Ambrosio, 1
Pitagoras instituyò vna Seta, pa-
ra que sus dicipulos, con silencio
quinquenal aprédieffen a hablar.

A No

Augustin Lubin.
*Orbis Augustinianus sive conventuum
ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini
chorographica et topographica descriptio*

(Paris: Pierre Baudouyn, 1659)

by EDWARD SCHNAYDER

I SPENT APRIL AND MAY, 1988, as a research fellow at the JCB. Most probably I was the only one among the fellows who was totally uninterested in its famous Americana because my object was old, pre-1800 printed maps of Poland and its parts. The JCB has, of course, no such separate maps, but I paid attention to its old atlases which do contain such items. Although the JCB has a small atlas collection (a little more than 200) nevertheless it is really exquisite. Among the items, I found 108 (i.e. about 50 percent of the entire holding) that are not listed in the cartographic collections of Poland¹. I was able to excerpt and catalogue only 39 of them (with 87 maps of Poland and its parts) as it became evident that my stay was unfortunately too short to finish the whole.

The particular atlas and its "Polish" maps that I present here are by no means works of genius. On the contrary, cartographically they are not only rough but, frankly speaking, even primitive. Nevertheless, they are, first of all, unknown to Polish historians of cartography, and secondly, they are contained in an atlas devoted solely to Roman Catholic church affairs. Moreover, and this is even more interesting, dedicated not to the Church as a whole but to only one of its orders. In itself, it is a rare example of such contents, especially in the seventeenth century, when it originated. More than that, the Providence atlas being of French origin, it seems to be a new variant not included in the recent and fundamental bibliography by M. Pastoureau of French atlases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries².

Entitled in short *Orbis Augustinianus sive conventuum ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini chorographica et topographica descriptio*³ and printed in Paris in 1659 by Pierre Baudouyn, it is composed of 60 black and white copperplate maps of administrative divisions of the Augustine order⁴ with the location of its convents all over the world as known at that time. The atlas was devised, drawn, and engraved by Augustin Lubin (1624–95), an Augustinian father from Paris⁵. The JCB copy consists of only the "Chorographia" (map part) but not the "Topographia" (views of some Augustinian convents) which was printed at the same time in Paris as a separate volume. The sequence of its maps is other than that given by Pastoureau, but the map titles of the contemporary divisions of the JCB atlas are those of Pastoureau's type Lubin 1 A, whereas the atlas title as well as the total number of maps and titles of particular "Vetuses" (i.e. maps of old Augustinian provinces) are those of her type Lubin 1 B. Thus our atlas is a strange mixture of both variants, being not one of them in the full sense of the word. In her descriptions of two types of the atlas in question, Pastoureau did not mention at all the lack (existing also in the JCBL copy) of two maps known only from the map list contained in every atlas copy. It is possible those two lacking maps were neither executed nor printed.

Edward Schnayder was a Library fellow in 1988. At the time of his application Mr. Schnayder was head of the Map Room at the Jagiellonian University Library, Krakow. He is now retired.



The JCBL copy includes 2 one-page maps of Poland: 1) (map no. 4) "Germania Augustiana," ca. 1: 9,000,000, 178 × 150 mm, which practically covers also the whole territory of present-day Poland (from the western border to approximately the meridian of the city of Lublin), and 2) (map no. 36) "Provincia Poloniae"⁶, ca. 1: 4,200,000, 162 × 122 mm. This last map testifies, incidentally, to the great haste in producing the whole atlas. It contains an unfinished cartouche which consists of barely two rough, unornamented concentric circles with the title in the middle. Finally, our atlas is a good illustration of the cartographic travesty of the old saying: "Habent sua fata atlantes." ("Atlases have their own destiny"; usually, "Habent sua fata libelli," Books have their own destiny.) This copy was originally the property of the main library of the Jesuit college in Naples, Italy, which is indicated by the circular stamp on its first title folio: "Ex Bibl. Max. Coll. Neap. Soc. Iesu."

1. Based on the card file "Rare book shelf list - Z/ Atlases/".

2. Mireille Pastoureau avec la collaboration de Frank Lestringant pour "L'Insulaire" d'A. Thevet, *Les atlas français XVIe - XVIIe siècles. Répertoire bibliographique et étude*, Paris 1984, pp. 303-307.

3. Its second frontispiece title: "Chorographia augustiniana seu conventuum ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini per provincias nec non eorundem topographica descriptio". JCBL call-number: Z - L 929-1659.

4. The Augustinian (also Austin) order is a complex of Roman Catholic religious orders and congregations of men and women whose constitutions are based on the Rule of St. Augustine, instructions on the religious life written by St. Augustine (354-430), the great Western theologian, and widely disseminated after his death. More specifically, the name is used to designate members of two main branches of Augustinians, namely, the Augustinian Canons and the Augustinian Hermits (our atlas deals with this very branch), with their female offshoots. The principal domains of Augustinian activity were (and are) missions (ministry and preaching), educational (teaching and scholarly research), and hospital work. In the seventeenth century when the atlas in question originated there was the biggest rise of the order. In 1686 it had 42 provinces, 13 congregations, about 2,000 houses, and 30,000 members. See "Augustinians" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Washington, D.C. 1967, vol. 1, pp. 1071-1076 and "Augustiner—Eremiten" in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin, N. York, 1979, vol. 4, pp. 728-739.

5. M. Pastoureau, op. cit., p. 303. Apart from his preaching, Father Lubin was known as a geographer (he even received the title of the geographer to the King). But as cartographer he made only one atlas, the one we are here interested in.

6. It covers only so-called "Korona" (= "Crown"), i.e., Poland proper which from 1569, since the final federation act, the so-called "Lublin Union," constituted—till the last partition of Poland in 1795—a common, consisting of two equal state units, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Humor in JCBL Cartography.

We all know only too well how the serious and the comic constantly mingle in human affairs. The same happens naturally in historical research, too, not excluding cartography. I had a convincing proof of that in 1988 when I was a fellow at the JCB. Among other atlases I found Gerard Mercator's and Jodocus Hondius' *Historia mundi*. This is the first of the only three (1635, 1637, and 1639) English-language editions published in England and by Englishmen of one of the most famous and popular atlases of the epoch. It was "englished" by Wye Saltonstall and printed by Thomas Cotes for Michael Sparke and Samuel Cartwright in London, 1635 (JCBL call-number Z-M 533-1635).

Polish collections do not indicate the possession of this atlas. The cartographical department of the National Library, Warszawa, has two *separate* copies of its "Polish" maps, i.e. those of Poland (together with Silesia) and Lithuania. The JCB copy contains the full set of 4 maps of Poland and its parts: "Livonia" (today Latvia)—p. 159; "The Dukedome of Lithuania" (= Grand Duchy of Lithuania)—p. 169; "Polonia et Silesia" (= Poland and Silesia)—p. 675; and "Polonia" (Poland)—p. 681. By the way one should remember that in this time "Korona" ("Crown"), i.e., Poland proper together with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (along with present-day Latvia = "Livonia" of the

map) from 1569 since the final federation act, the so-called "Lublin Union," constituted—till the last, third, partition of Poland in 1795—a whole, consisting of two equal state units, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, one of the vastest states in contemporary Europe.

As the atlases of those days were usually also textual geographical-historical encyclopedias, at the back of the Lithuania map I found as well a reference text about that country written in an old and venerable English. One of its sentences expressed horror at the alleged loose character of the women there. They have numerous lovers who are so tolerated by their liberal husbands that the husbands call them tenderly "helpers." This very sentence was underlined in red ink. And next to it, on the margin, in the same ink, the contemporary, rigorously puritan English owner of the atlas wrote a tersely sarcastic commentary: "Strange for Christians."

George Bishop.
*New England Judged, Not by Man's,
but by the Spirit of the Lord*

(London: R. Wilson, 1661–1667)

by CARLA GARDINA PESTANA

GEORGE BISHOP'S *New England Judged, Not by Man's, but by the Spirit of the Lord* (1661, 1667) presents the confrontation between Quaker missionaries and the New England authorities in stark terms: the corrupt and vicious leaders of the Massachusetts Bay colony attempted to crush the Quakers at every turn; but, because the Quakers were on a mission from the Lord, these militant servants of the truth triumphed against great adversity. Arguably the most important and certainly one of the earliest publications in a long tradition of Quaker suffering literature, Bishop's work was reprinted many times. Its earliest edition (in two parts) helped to sully the reputation of the Bay colony before the Restoration court; Charles II ordered an end to the execution of Quakers in that colony as a result of the campaign of Bishop and others.

While at the John Carter Brown Library in 1984–85, researching the first Quaker and Baptist communities founded in early Massachusetts, I used both the early editions of Bishop's work. Moving back and forth between the two-part first edition (published in 1661 and 1667) and the 1703 abridged edition, I became aware that Bishop's work had significantly changed over the years. Reading in English history, I found other scholars grappling with the implications of the transformation of early Quakerism. The insight that the Society of Friends had actively revised its early history—which first dawned on me in the magnificent reading room of the JCB—has subsequently shaped my work

on the sect. A complicated struggle within the Salem, Massachusetts, Quaker community in the 1670s and 1680s arose, I decided, from local opposition to fundamental changes emanating from England, changes that were reflected in the revision of Bishop's work. I believe that recounting this struggle was one of the more important contributions of my dissertation and the book later published out of it (*Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* [Cambridge University Press, 1991]).

Since then I have examined the larger issue of how the Quakers' revised their image in Bishop's work and others. My 1991 article in the *Journal of American History*, which explicated the changing historiography of early Quakerism and its significance for our understanding of both Puritans and Quakers, also originated in the insights first arrived at while perusing the JCB's collections. I have been a beneficiary of the library's policy of buying all available editions of any pertinent work, for only with the two editions in hand would I have noticed the (often subtle) changes made to Bishop's account by a later generation of Quaker editors.

At the time of her fellowship at the Library in 1984, Carla Pestana was a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of California at Los Angeles. Presently she is an Associate Professor at Ohio State University.

(4)

New England Judged,

Not by Man's, but the Spirit of the LORD :

And

The *SAME* sealed up of *NEW-ENGLAND'S*
PERSECUTIONS.

Being

A Brief Relation of the *Sufferings* of the People called *Quakers* in those Parts of *AMERICA*, from the beginning of the Fifth Moneth 1656. (the time of their first Arrival at *BOSTON* from *ENGLAND*) to the later end of the Tenth Moneth, 1660.

Wherein

The Cruel Whippings and Scourgings, Bonds and Imprisonments, Beatings and Chainings, Starvings and Huntings, Fines and Confiscation of Estates, Burning in the Hand and Cutting of Ears, Orders of Sale for Bond-men, and Bond-women, Banishment upon pain of Death, and Putting to Death of those People, are Shortly touched; With a Relation of the Manner, and Some of the Other most Material Proceedings; and a Judgement thereupon.

In Answer

To a Certain Printed Paper, Intituled, *A DECLARATION* of the General Court of the Massachusetts holden at Boston, the 18. October, 1658. Apologizing for the same.

By *GEORGE BISHOP*.

Therefore, also, saith the Wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets, and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and Persecute, That the Blood of all the Prophets that was shed from the Foundation of the World, may be required of this Generation, From the Blood of Abel, to the Blood of Zecharias, which perished between the Temple and the Altar. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this Generation.

London, Printed for Robert Wilson, in Martins Le Grand, 1661.

Jean Baptiste Du Tertre.
Histoire generale des Antilles

(Paris: T. Jolly, 1667-1671)

by PHILIP P. BOUCHER

WHEN FIRST UNDERTAKING research at the JCB (1969) on the French in the Americas, I became familiar with the works of the Dominican missionary Du Tertre (1610-1683). Ever since, I have had frequent reunions with these volumes, the most indispensable source for the French Caribbean before ca. 1670.

Born at Calais, that den of privateers and pirates, Du Tertre had much practical experience with the world before entering the novitiate in 1635. He sailed on a Dutch ship to the far north seas and served in the army of the Prince of Orange at the siege of Maastricht. It will not surprise the reader then that this Catholic missionary would express no hesitation about using Dutch or Flemish ships on later voyages to America, or that he would pen sympathetic portrayals of "heretic" traders who infested the French islands. Such toleration would not occur with his treatment of fellow Catholic Spaniards and *a fortiori* of the detested English.

The above sketch may explain his superior's choice of Du Tertre as a missionary in a frontier colony. On his ventures in the Caribbean (1640-42, 1643-47, 1656-57) Du Tertre would demonstrate robust good health in a killing climate and remarkable sang froid in the face of repeated natural and political disasters. Upon his return to France in 1647, the Dominican finished a manuscript account of his travels, which he rushed into print in 1654 upon hearing that a pilfered copy of his work was in preparation for publication. Although of value, Du Tertre's brief, hasty account is in

most ways inferior to his four-volume chef-d'oeuvre. The 1654 volume avoids discussing political brouhahas that might embarrass his fellow missionaries at Guadeloupe. It also glosses over the miserable conditions of the island's "starving years;" by the mid 1660s he believed he could be frank because the early difficulties had given way to a thriving, polished colony. Finally, the later volumes are much to be preferred because Du Tertre had access to governmental archives, and his text reproduces documents in extenso, many of which would otherwise not be available.

As a historian, Du Tertre had great respect for primary documents and for first-hand oral accounts. However, he was far too passionately involved in island controversies for the reader to expect an even-handed approach to external and internal opponents in the colonies. He shares the prejudices of the era, especially those of clerics. He dislikes most females and yet is indignant about Island Carib "enslavement" of their women. Yet, without his work, the historian of the French Antilles would be as impoverished as are students of the early English Caribbean.

Du Tertre is most well-known for his detailed and generally sympathetic account in volume two of the much maligned Island Caribs, the "Cannibals" par excellence of that era. Ever since Gilbert Chinard's influential examination of the noble savage myth, it has become standard to view Du Tertre's volume two as a locus classicus. However, this inter-

Philip Boucher was a Library fellow in the summer of 1985 while an associate professor at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. Presently Dr. Boucher is a full professor in the Department of History at the same university.

pretation is much too simplistic. Typical of the missionary discourse of that period, Du Tertre's goal was to temper negative views of the "cannibals" by insisting on their natural virtues—honesty, simplicity, liberality. Once the fathers removed the shackles of Satan, they would become good Christians, indeed perhaps better ones than materialistic, power-mad, lust-driven Frenchmen. But even in volume two, Du Tertre's description of many Carib customs would have disgusted contemporary readers. However, it is in volume one where he discusses the French-Carib wars that Du Tertre's colonialist discourse generates predominantly negative evaluations of the Caribs. Scholars who go beyond volume two and examine all of Du Tertre's work will discover a more complex portrait of the Caribs.

The Dominican's four-volume work is a valuable source for the early plantation system. His views of slavery are fairly typical for the era, although occasional compassionate comments about African slaves spill from his pen. He wonders why the color of their skin alone guarantees often merciless treatment. Nevertheless, he is convinced that Africans in slavery are better off because of the opportunity offered to them of eternal life. He readily acknowledges that the Dominicans own slaves, who are of course well treated. Those slaves long exposed to Christianity are rigorous in their faith and loyal in their servitude. In general, he claims the French are more humane masters than the English and the Dutch, and even the Catholic

Iberians. French slaves are baptized, legally married, and buried in sacred ground. And did they not loyally fight alongside their masters in the 1666–1667 war against English islanders? A modern reader might attribute this "fidelity" to the principle of "The enemy you know. . . ." Fortunately, Father Du Tertre was able to finish his history despite a superior's grumbling about his time consuming hobby. The *Histoire* is a worthy monument to his life and labors.



Roger Williams.
George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes

(Boston, 1676)

by DAVID S. LOVEJOY

ROGER WILLIAMS'S *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*, published in Boston in 1676, is a lengthy and biased account of a notorious debate he initiated with Quaker leaders in the summer of 1672. Williams had challenged Quaker George Fox, then a visitor to the colonies, to debate with him on fourteen propositions he had devised, each really a sharp charge against the very heart of Quakerism. Despite Fox's absence (either deliberate or inadvertent) three of his lieutenants eagerly carried on in his behalf, and the debate proceeded, with considerable bitterness, before a largely Quaker audience in Newport and Providence, Rhode Island.

Williams's proposals attacked directly the doctrine of the Inward Light, the Quaker belief, as he defined it, that there was no God, or Christ, no Spirit, no Devil, no heaven or hell but what was in man. He ridiculed their neglect of Scripture and their ignorance of the historic Christ. He scorned their insistence that man's conscience was proof of the Christ within him. He denied that their sufferings from persecution were evidence of the truth of their religion. He damned their pride (second only to the Pope's) and belittled their writings as poor, lame, naked, and swollen. Lastly, he several times reminded them of their Adamite practice of "Going Naked as a Sign," their symbolic protest against enemies who, they claimed, lacked the "Covering of the Spirit." Williams called it a "whorish and monstrous act" of their "women and Maidens," a piece of

impudence even uncivilized Indians abhorred except when they were drunk. According to Williams, Quakers were outright enthusiasts, and like all enthusiasts through history they were deceived into thinking that God dealt with them intimately through direct inspiration, outside the confines of Bible, clergy, and church ordinances.

The Quaker debaters answered each charge as it came. They had a way of turning arguments back upon their opponents, as they did Williams's repeated taunts about their naked protests. In the last of these instances, they strongly implied that he was a "dirty old man" who ought to be ashamed of himself. When Fox returned to England he and one of the debaters, John Burnyeat, collaborated in 1678 on a book of more than 500 pages, arguing the Quaker side of the encounter and boasting how they had humiliated their opponent in Rhode Island, calling their narrative *A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched*.

Liberty of conscience was not an issue between participants in the Rhode Island debate, for Williams and the Quakers were in agreement over the principle. Neither side, however, trusted the other's commitment to religious freedom. Williams suspected that such liberty would evaporate into arbitrariness, even persecution, once Quakers governed, while the Quakers easily identified him with the Puritan bigots in Massachusetts Bay who had run Quakers out of the colony and hanged four of them who dared to return.

David Lovejoy was a fellow at the Library in 1970-1971. For many years he taught at the University of Wisconsin and is now retired and living in Oxfordshire, England.

Williams's debate with the Quakers and the books it provoked were a striking chapter in the ongoing battle between rational piety and unbridled enthusiasm, a struggle as ancient as Christianity itself. Williams's book epitomized orthodox Protestantism's contempt for what it branded a heretical and dangerous enthusiasm. In response the Quakers moved from defense to attack and argued the irrelevance of his tired, old doctrine to their irrepressible revolt against a stifling spiritual tradition. *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes* is a provocative example of the orthodox side of this historic struggle. It was written with wit, irony, and a good deal of mockery, along with a fair share of gusto, and it was answered in kind.

Thomas Shepard's Book given me by Mr. Fox in 1672

George Fox

Digg'd out of his

Burrovves,

Or an Offer of

DISPUTATION

On fourteen *Proposalls* made this last Summer 1672 (so call'd)
unto *G. Fox* then present on *Rode-Island*
in *New-England*, by *R.W.*

As also how (*G. Fox* slyly departing) the *Disputation* went on
being managed three dayes at *Newport* on *Rode-Island*, and
one day at *Providence*, between *John Stubs*, *John Barnet*, and
William Edmundson on the one part, and *R.W.* on the other.

In which many *Quotations* out of *G. Fox* & *Ed. Burrowes* Book
in *Folio* are alleadged.

WITH AN

A P E N D I X

Of some scores of *G. F.* his simple lame Answers to his Oppo-
sites in that Book, quoted and replied to
By *R. W.* of *Providence* in *N.E.*
Robert Williams

B O S T O N

Printed by *John Foster*, 1 6 7 6.

The Marquette map in Melchisédech Thévenot's *Recueil de Voyages*

(Paris: E. Michallet, 1681)

by FRANS KOKS

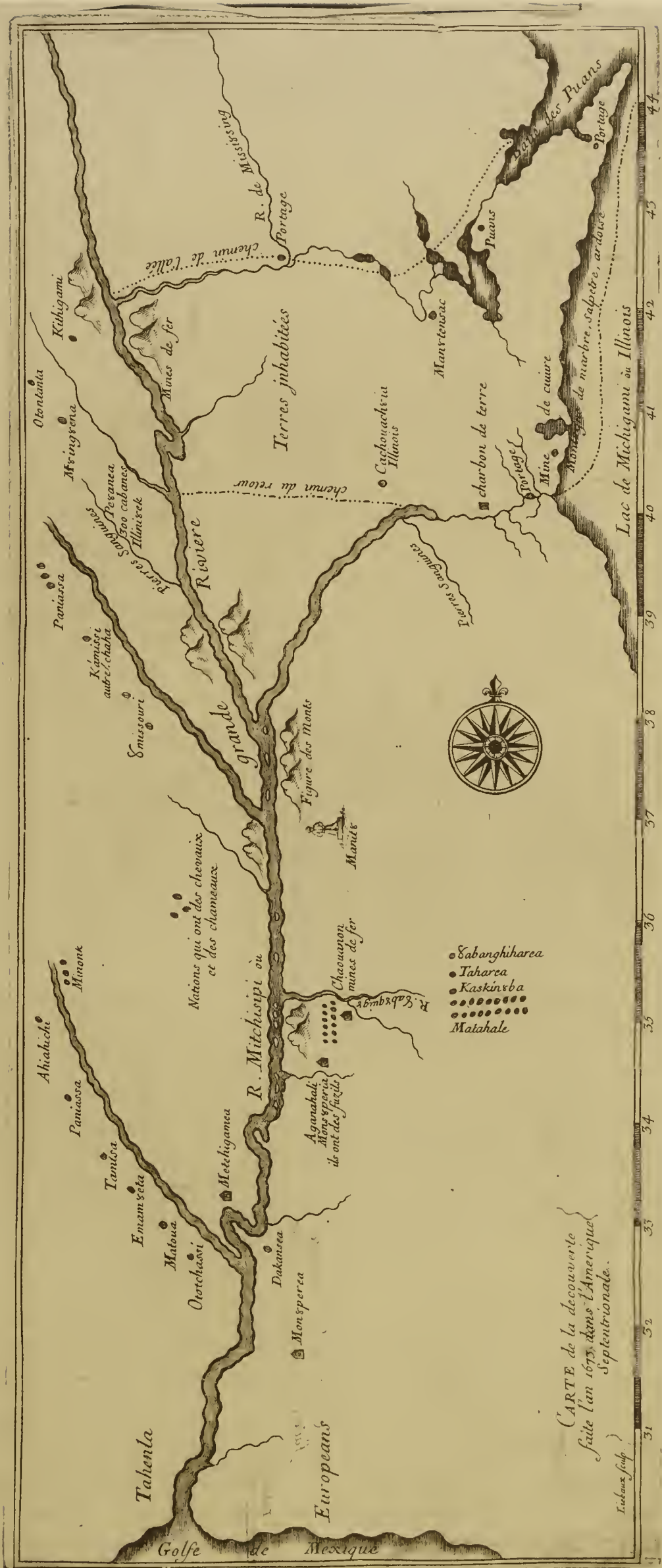
STUDYING THE ORIGINAL atlases and maps of Sanson, Jaillot, Coronelli, Cassini, and their contemporaries, is the easiest way of gaining an understanding of the evolution of Old Regime cartography. The John Carter Brown Library owns a particularly rich collection of rare French maps of North America, a collection which I had the privilege to consult in 1993.

For 150 years, four French maps in the Library's collection have been favorite objects of scholarly debate. Each individual map reflects the findings of Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet during their famous expedition (1673–1674) to the Mississippi Valley, and each one was drawn in its immediate aftermath. Particularly meaningful to my research was a rare book called *Recueil de Voyages* (Paris, 1681), published by Melchisédech Thévenot (1620–1692). The book includes Father Marquette's account of the voyage and one of the four expedition maps, the "Carte de la decouverte faite l'an 1673 dans l'Amerique Septentrionale," engraved by Liébaux. Some historians have attributed both components to Marquette. Others have argued that the map was originally designed by Jolliet. The author of the draft used by Liébaux for the *Recueil* was finally identified as Father Claudé Dablon, the Superior of the Jesuit missions in New France. The narrative was conclusively recognized as an abbreviation of Marquette's original journal.

Perhaps the most meaningful feature of the account and the map in Thévenot's *Recueil* is the fact that they were printed at all. Since late 1674, a number of copies of the original Jolliet expedition map had been circulating among the Paris court elite. Marquette's papers were meant to be included in the *Rélations*, the annual Jesuit publication of missionary reports. However, the French government suppressed the *Rélations* of New France in 1673, well before the missionary had been able to put his pen to paper. Fortunately, the Marquette account and map eventually found their way to Quebec, where Father Dablon edited the narrative, copied the map, and kept the documents for future use.

The Canadian scholar Lucien Campeau recently established that the Marquette narrative was one of six years' worth of unpublished Jesuit *Rélations* to have been intentionally sent to Paris by late 1678. Thévenot's expedition map, then, is a second-generation, printed replica of Dablon's map, the only trace of Marquette's cartography to have found its way to Paris, to Thévenot, and to the French public. Only in France could the map and the narrative be turned over to enthusiastic scholars such as Melchisédech Thévenot, one of the founders of the illustrious *Académie Royale des Sciences*. Thévenot eagerly accepted and published the two documents as examples of proper scholarship. In so doing, he—intentionally or unintentionally—helped the Jesuits get around the ban on publishing the Canadian *Rélations* and put on display one of their finest achievements.

Frans Koks was a Library fellow in the summer of 1993. At the time of his application he was a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Ottawa. He expects to receive the doctoral degree in 1996.



Henry Pitman.

A relation of the great sufferings and strange adventures of Henry Pitman, chyrurgion to the late Duke of Monmouth

(London: A. Sowle, 1689)

by MEREDITH BALDWIN WEDDLE

I HAD NO BUSINESS paging this slender book: *A Relation of the Great Sufferings and Strange Adventures of Henry Pitman, Chyrurgion to the late Duke of Monmouth*. According to the cataloguing record, "Pitman was transported to Barbados as a convict, escaped, and became involved with pirates." But the subject of my research was the "peace testimony" of seventeenth-century Quakers—their belief that weapons, "fightings," and war were utterly incompatible with Quaker spiritual understandings. Early Quaker leaders had enunciated this vision, but visions tend to be abstract. I wanted to "see" the choices, the sacrifices, the compromises Quakers made in violent situations; for it is in the working through of scruples that a vision is defined and disciplined—or discarded. My search at the JCB, then, was for "ordinary" Quakers seen interpreting the strictures against violence through their actions in times of danger.

But, if truth be told, dozens of pious tracts had fogged my mind, and this pirate tale offered an escape from an excess of conviction. So it was as a surcease rather than a source that I requested the Pitman book.

Pitman's account was everything the card catalogue promised, and more: Pitman, surgeon, attached to Monmouth's army, marching to oust King James II; Pitman captured, condemned to hang, reprieved and "transported" to Barbados as a slave. He plotted escape in an open boat, brushed past "savage canibals" on a

beach, put ashore on buccaneer-infested Tortuga where pirates burnt his boat. He learned to "turn turtles" to immobilize them for leisurely killing, and to smoke wild sage in a crab's-claw pipe. He finally returned to England aboard a privateer.

My guilty detour was unexpectedly rewarded by the historian's dream—the Undiscovered Source. Henry Pitman, it became clear, was a Quaker. Nowhere in his sensationalized story did he mention religion. But subtle evidence emerged from the text, later confirmed in local Quaker minutes. Andrew Sowle, printer of many Quaker materials, printed this book; Pitman never bore arms under Monmouth, while he felt obliged to dress the wounds of enemy soldiers. Rather than shed the blood of any who might capture him, Pitman concocted an opium-infused cordial to put capturers to sleep; he stated that he did not wear a sword or carry weapons; he refused to join in piracy.

Although Pitman included these details, they were ancillary to his main purpose, which was clearly to capitalize on his astounding adventures by selling a great number of books. Moreover, his last page contains a description of various medicines Pitman formulated and offered for sale; the book was as well a clever come-on for a doctor's practice. Because Pitman was not self-consciously describing his pacifism, the way he explained and distinguished his behavior when he was proximate to violence is especially compelling. Thus, when he associated himself with

Meredith Weddle held a Barbara S. Mosbacher fellowship at the Library in the fall of 1995. At the time of her application Dr. Weddle was an instructor in the Department of History at the State University of New York at Purchase. She is currently pursuing her work as an independent researcher.

military forces, when he urged his companions to bring *their* weapons for the escape, when he approved their charging their “musquets” and blunderbusses with pieces of glass, he unconsciously offered up his scruples and his choices for a historian’s analysis of what pacifism meant to him. An apparently rowdy entertainment proved to be, instead, invaluable and extraordinarily rare evidence of the complexity of pacifism itself.

A
RELATION
OF THE
Great Sufferings.
AND
Strange Adventures
OF HENRY PITMAN,
Chyrurgion to the late Duke of *Monmouth*, contain-
ing an Account;

1. Of the occasion of his being engaged in the Duke’s Service. 2. Of his Tryal, Condemnation, and Transportation to *Barbadoes*, with the most severe and Unchristian Acts made against him and his Fellow-sufferers, by the Governour and General Assembly of that Island. 3. How he made his escape in a small open Boat with some of his fellow Captives, naniely, *Jo. Whicker, Peter Bagwell, William Woodcock, Jo. Cooke, Jeremiah Atkins*, &c. And how miraculously they were preserved on the Sea. 4. How they went ashore on a uninhabitable Island, where they met with some *Privateers* that burnt their Boat, and left them on that desolate place to shift for themselves. 5. After what manner they lived there for about three Moneths, until the said *Henry Pitman* was taken aboard a *Privateer*, and at length arrived safe in *Eng-land*. 6. How his Companions were received aboard another *Privateer* that was after-wards taken by the *Spainards*, and they all made Slaves; And how after six Moneths Captivity they were delivered, and returned to *England* also.

Licensed, June 15th, 1689.

London, Printed by *Andrew Sowle*; And are to be Sold by *John Taylor*, at the Sign of the Ship in *Paul’s Church-Yard*, 1689.

Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce,
baron de Lahontan
*Nouveaux voyages de M. Le Baron de
Lahontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*

(The Hague: Chez les Frères l'Honoré, 1703)

by NANETTE LE COAT

LAHONTAN'S *NOUVEAUX VOYAGES* were for me not so much a discovery as a rediscovery. Reading *Les Nouveaux voyages* this second time at the JCB, I found myself interested as much in the textual strategies at work in the account as in its undeniably rich ethnographic and historic insights. Let me explain, in a necessarily abbreviated way, how signifier and signified are interrelated in Lahontan's work and what an understanding of this interweave can yield not only about this particular author, but about the rhetorical strategies available to New World writers in general.

In the past, much of the critical assessment of Lahontan has hinged on the truth-value of his account. Percy Adams in his *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (1962) had an apt term for Lahontan when he referred to "travel liars." But this emphasis on the strict veracity of the account misses the point. Since conclusions about Lahontan's truthfulness are frequently arrived at through the comparison of the narratives to the Jesuit relations of New France, I shall invoke a particularly telling encounter between Lahontan and a Jesuit.

Lahontan spent the winter of 1685 in the French fortification at Montreal. He chaffed increasingly at the "pitch at which these Ecclesiastical Lords [the Jesuits] have screw'd their authority (89)." The issue comes to a head in a particularly humorous episode when the resident curate spied a copy of Petronius on his writing table, "fell upon it with an unimaginable fury and tore out almost all the Leaves (89)."

The clash is revealing not simply because it identifies Lahontan's anticlericalism, nor even his reading tastes, but because it inscribes Lahontan's account within a particular literary tradition—that of the satiric novel. The account is embedded in a longer, more sustained narrative which owes much to Petronius's *Satyricon*. Lahontan's text, like Petronius's, is hybrid, parodic, and sometimes frankly scabrous. No doubt Lahontan relished shocking Jesuit sensibilities because it offered him a way of countering ecclesiastical authority, but his choice of literary form was not fortuitous. The *Satyricon* is one of the first novels in the Western literary tradition. As Mikhaïl Bakhtin has famously observed, the novel has always been a subversive genre—it consistently refuses to conform to generic expectations, is frequently irreverent, upsets established hierarchies, and freely cannibalizes other forms. While Lahontan's text is not a novel, but a hybrid series of "memoirs" and letters culminating in the celebrated dialogue with the "bon sauvage," Adario, it is novelistic. In the novel, whose very name means the "new," Lahontan found a genre eminently suited to the representation of his new reality for, like the New World, the novel was mixed, discontinuous, and unassimilable with the conventional categories of the Old.

The English translation which appears in the quote is from *New Voyages to North-America by the Baron de Lahontan*, Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., New York: Burt Franklin, reprinted 1970.

Nanette Le Coat held a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the Library in 1993-1994. At the time of her appointment she was a professor in the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Trinity University, Texas, where she continues to teach.



Sir William Monson.
Naval tracts

(London: A. and J. Churchill, 1703)

by JERZY LITWIN

I HAD IN THE YEAR 1992 an extremely fruitful three-month stay at the John Carter Brown Library, and during these three months many books connected with my area of research—the history and technology of wooden ship construction from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries—were in my hands: For example, the four-volume work *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* printed in London at 1704, an extremely important source for the study of the history of shipping and navigation.

There were in the Library other excellent books, such as Nathaniel Boteler, *Six Dialogues about Sea-Services* (London, 1685); Sir Walter Raleigh, *Judicious and Select Essays and Observations* (London, 1650); John Smith, *The Sea-man's Grammar and Dictionary* (London, 1699); Tobias Gentlemen, *Englands way to win wealth, and to employ ships and mariners* (London, 1614), and my favorite Sir William Monson, *Naval Tracts*—printed officially for the first time at London in 1703. This book contains unique, valuable observations for research concerning West European warships in the years 1585–1602, when the future famous admiral served in the Navy starting from the position of ship's boy.

For the study of the history of shipbuilding and technology there are many significant descriptions in this publication. For example, one of the most important problems for centuries for shipowners operating in the Mediterranean Sea and in other warm waters has been the protection of hulls against worms, particularly *Terredo navalis*, which delights in eating

timber. It is known that in ancient times, in Greece, sheets of lead were added to the bottom surface of ships to protect them. Authors on the history of ships very seldom write about the various techniques of hull protection, known as sheathing. Also many have believed that the plates of lead were popular only in antiquity, and that such technology disappeared in the new era. But thanks to Monson's book we have really exact descriptions of various forms of ship protection in his times, and we can see that ancient techniques were still in use.

On the pages 346–347, Monson writes: "In Spain and Portugal they sheath ships with lead; not durable, heavy and subject to many casualties. Another sheathing is with double planks within and without, like a furring; weighty, endures but a while, because the worm works through the one and the other. Some have done it with fine canvas; of small continuance, and not regarded. To burn the upper plank till it come to be like a very coal in every place, and after to pitch it, is not amiss. In China they say, they have a bitumen, or varnish, like an Artificial Pitch, with which they trim the outside of the ships: it is said to be durable against worm, water, or sun. Some have used a certain pitch mingled with glass, and other ingredients beaten to powder, but of no great use. The best is with thin boards, half inch thick, the thinner the better, and elm better then oak, for it does not split, it endures better under water, and yields better to the ship's side. . . . Some impute the killing of the worm to the tar, others to the hair, that involves

Jerzy Litwin was an Alexander O. Vietor Memorial Fellow at the Library in 1992. At the time of his application he was editor-in-chief of the publisher Wydawnictwo Morskie and affiliated with the Gdansk Centre for Monuments Documentation. Dr. Litwin is currently vice-director of the Polish Maritime Museum in Gdansk, Poland.

Sir William Monfon's
N A V A L
T R A C T S:
I N S I X B O O K S.

C O N T A I N I N G,

1. *A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets, during the War in Queen Elizabeth's time; with Remarks on the Actions on both sides.*
2. *Actions of the English under King James the First, and Discourses upon that Subject.*
3. *The Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and of all the Ministers and Officers under him; with other Particulars to that purpose.*
4. *Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portugueses; and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.*
5. *Divers Projects and Stratagems, tender'd for the good of the Kingdom.*
6. *Treats of Fishing to be set up on the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all His Majesty's Three Kingdoms: With many other things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.*

The Whole from the Original Manuscript;
Never before Published.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. and J. Churchill. 1703.

Y

and choaks it; this is the best, and of least cost. The worm begins with a hole no bigger than a needle's head, and by degrees becomes as great as a man's finger; the thicker the plank is, the greater it grows; they are the most near fresh waters and rivers."

William Monson's book also includes perceptive remarks concerning Spanish and English fleets, and warships of other nations, which explains why his text was kept secret by the Admiralty for many years. The reason was obviously the importance of his observations. For example, on page 349 we can read: "The greatest inconveniency in his Majesty's ships is the placing the cook-room in the mid-ships, and so low in the hold, that many inconveniencies and dangers arise by it; if it take fire, it is not so easily quenched as if it were aloft, and in the fore-castle; secondly, it will make the ship camberkeel; thirdly, the continual fire that is kept in that part of the ship casts such a heat amongst men and victuals, that it begets sickness, and disperses such an offensive smoke in the ship, that it putrifies victuals, and makes it both unwholesome and untoothsome to be eaten."

The location of cook rooms in the middle of a hull is associated with medieval European tradition, when sailors were able to cook their food on the ballast stones in the main hold. In the Renaissance, on many ships constructed in Europe, the place for a fire or a kitchen was located near the bow, giving the smoke a shorter way out.

These are only two examples of the great value of Sir William Monson's book for studies on the history of shipbuilding. It is also a pity, that now, when I am deputy director of the Polish Maritime Museum, I have no time to publish numerous works, the results of my fruitful research in the John Carter Brown Library. Nevertheless I hope to do it in coming years.

Vincenzo Coronelli.
Palestra litteraria [2nd ed of *Libro dei Globi*]

(Venice, ca. 1705)

by JAMES L. FUCHS

IN HIS CHARACTERISTICALLY defiant prose, the seventeenth-century encyclopedist and cartographer, Vincenzo Coronelli, in his preface to the second edition of his *Libro dei Globi* (*Book of Globes*) (1705), excoriated the "Aristarchi" who almost certainly were not among the preface's readers. These "Aristarchi," Coronelli insisted, deprecated the works of others only because of their ignorance.

Even in the best of times, Coronelli had scant patience for his numerous critics. Yet, in 1705, when the second edition of the *Libro dei Globi* appeared, he had particular reason for being defensive. At that time, he was beset by a series of reversals that were to culminate in the loss of his influential position as Minister General of one of the branches of the Franciscan Order. With the loss of that position, Coronelli lost the financial support that made works like the *Libro dei Globi* possible, and he lost as well the fame that might have prevented the *Libro dei Globi* from becoming just another seemingly obscure work.

Happily for me, a specialist in Coronelli, the John Carter Brown contains one of two extant copies of the second edition of the *Libro dei Globi* (the other copy is in the Marciana in Venice, Coronelli's home city). Moreover, despite Coronelli's shrillness in introducing this edition of the *Libro dei Globi*, and despite this edition's obscurity, it exemplifies Coronelli's considerable range, not to mention his sense of enterprise, as a cartographer.

First and foremost, this edition of the *Libro dei Globi* contains celestial and terrestrial globes modeled after "the largest globes the world had ever seen," which Coronelli had presented to Louis XIVth and with which he had launched his career. Also noteworthy are various maps of the oceans and charts of the Arctic and Antarctica.

The combination of celestial and terrestrial drawings suggests the encyclopedic vision that informed many of Coronelli's other works, although from a practical point of view, the implementation of that vision came easily. In 1705, Coronelli was still producing volumes of his encyclopedic *Biblioteca Universale Sacro-Profana* (1701-07), and he was able to recycle portions of the *Biblioteca Universale* within the *Libro dei Globi*, just as he inserted portions of the *Libro dei Globi* in the *Biblioteca Universale*.

James Fuchs was a Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of Chicago at the time of his appointment as a Library fellow in 1982. Currently he is teaching and practicing law in New York City.



Not only was this rare edition of the *Libro dei Globi* available to me as a fellow at the John Carter Brown Library in the summer of 1982, but I also found at the library a congenial atmosphere in which I was able to turn my still somewhat inchoate notes on Coronelli into the dissertation that I completed a year later. As I was writing, I benefited from the helpful suggestions of many of the other fellows as well as of the John Carter Brown's incomparable staff, particularly Susan Danforth. Thanks in no small part to this help I received as a John Carter Brown fellow, I was able, unlike Coronelli, who got only as far as the letter "C" in his *Biblioteca Universale*, to see my project to the end.

*An account of the cruelties exercis'd
by the Inquisition in Portugal*

(London: R. Burrough and J. Baker, 1708)

by ANITA NOVINSKY

AS PESQUISAS SOBRE a Inquisição Moderna fizeram consideráveis progressos nas últimas décadas, principalmente as que dizem respeito ao Tribunal do Santo Ofício da Inquisição espanhola. Os resultados dessas pesquisas levaram historiadores a reformular as teses clássicas sobre os Tribunais Inquisitoriais, apresentando um quadro totalmente diferente do que a historiografia tradicional nos legou. O Tribunal é apresentado não como uma instituição injusta, arbitrária, impingindo horror até ao ser mencionado, mas como um órgão justo, moral e humano. Criou-se a chamada “Nova História da Inquisição,” que inclusive “desjudaizou” os Tribunais espanhóis, pois alguns autores advogam que a ideologia que levou a sua introdução e manutenção durante séculos, não foi o anti-judaísmo, mas as anti-heresia. Algumas obras que foram publicadas nos últimos anos vem marcadas por uma tendência “revisionista,” que em nossos dias caracteriza também obras sobre a escravidão e o nazismo. O panorama geral da Inquisição nas centenas de obras publicadas, algumas de inegável valor científico, chega-nos controverso, polêmico, respondendo a tendências reformuladoras e minimizadoras.

Sobre os Tribunais portugueses as pesquisas estão defasadas em relação à produção espanhola. O que permitirá tirar os estudos inquisitoriais desse impasse é o

aprofundamento da pesquisa, principalmente a análise das fontes primárias existentes sobre a inquisição portuguesa, muitas delas ainda mal conhecidas, e que poderão acrescentar uma nova compreensão e uma nova dimensão a uma instituição poderosa que serviu o Estado e a Igreja durante séculos.

Uma fonte primária rara encontra-se na John Carter Brown Library com o título: *An account of the Cruelties Exercise'd by the Inquisition in Portugal* (Impresso em Londres por Burrough and F. Baker at the Sun and Moon in Cornhill, 1708). Encontrei essa obra no ano de 1988, quando investigava sobre a Inquisição na América colonial na JCBL. Chamou-me a atenção por tratar-se de um título diferente de uma obra que eu já conhecia com o nome *Notícias Recônditas do Modo de proceder da Inquisição com os seus presos*, publicada por Hernani Cidade.¹ Foi escrita por um português, pertencente à cúpola “interna” do Tribunal, o secretário ou notário da Inquisição de Lisboa e diz ele que a escreveu porque “a sua consciência não pode aguentar as bárbaras crueldades e injustos procedimentos usados contra os criminosos.”

Anita Novinsky was a Tinker Fellow at the Library in 1987–1988. At the time of her application she was a professor in the Department of History at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, where she continues to teach.

Não temos até hoje certeza sobre o nome do autor dessa "Relação." Aceitam alguns historiadores a probabilidade de se tratar de Pedro Lupina Freire, porém o volume existente na JCBL aumenta ainda mais as dúvidas sobre a sua autoria, uma vez que algumas afirmações vêm contradizer constatações anteriormente levantadas.

No Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo em Lisboa existe um processo relativo a um padre com esse mesmo nome Lupina Freire, onde vem afirmado que o réu foi degredado para o Brasil por 5 anos. Alguns autores que se referem a Lupina Freire dizem que após 3 anos voltou a Portugal, onde foi nomeado para o cargo público de Administrador Geral da Corte, com uma remuneração de 5.000 reis mensais.²

Na obra existente na JCBL aparece contudo uma afirmação que põe em dúvida o que vem acima mencionado: Diz o autor do "Account"... que os injustos procedimentos (do Tribunal) foram tanto contra o seu coração que "resolveu deixar Portugal e retirar-se para Roma no ano de 1672" e que "não achava seguro para ele voltar para Portugal, pois se ele caísse nas mãos do Santo Ofício, os Inquisidores o sacrificariam para vingar-se." O documento que diz que voltou a Portugal e que foi ainda nomeado para um cargo importante não parece muito verídico uma vez que é considerado gravíssimo o crime de violar segredos internos do Tribunal, donde podemos considerar mais provável a versão do próprio autor anónimo do "Account," que diz nunca mais ter voltado a Portugal.

Sabemos que em 1672 encontrava-se em Roma o padre António Vieira, da Cia. de Jesus, tentando "desmascarar" e "minar" o Tribunal português, junto às autoridades eclesiásticas romanas. Durante muito tempo o Relatório atribuído a Pedro Lupina Freire constou como de autoria de Padre António Vieira, uma vez que coincide em seu conteúdo com as ideias do jesuíta.³ Vieira não escreveu o texto, mas certamente o conheceu, corrigiu e anotou.

O conhecido historiador português Hernani Cidade diz que as "*Notícias Recônditas*" foram publicadas "pela primeira vez" em Londres em 1722, e em italiano, pelo rabino de origem portuguesa David Neto.⁴ João Lucio de Azevedo confirma sua publicação em 1722 constando de duas partes, a primeira em português e a segunda em castelhano.⁵

Confrontando a edição do "Account" existente na JCBL com o texto publicado por Hernani Cidade vemos que se trata da mesma obra anónima provavelmente traduzida para o inglês 5 anos antes da versão italiana e espanhola. É interessante que o "Account" vem prefaciado também por um autor anónimo, que diz sentir-se obrigado em publicá-lo para que o mundo tomasse conhecimento dos injustos procedimentos desse terrível tribunal, mas que quando a obra já estava quase impressa um amigo lhe comunicou a existência de uma outra "relação" que mostra a maneira com que são tratados os que caem nas mãos da Inquisição espanhola na América, o que mostra que a Inquisição na Espanha agia com o mesmo espírito de perseguição do que a Inquisição em Portugal.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C R U E L T I E S
Exercis'd by the
Inquisition
I N
P O R T U G A L

To which is added,

A Relation of the Detention of Mr.
Louis Ramé in the Prisons of the Inqui-
sition in the Kingdoms of *Mexico* and
Spain, and of his happy Deliverance.

Written by one of the Secretaries to the
I N Q U I S I T I O N.

L O N D O N,

Printed for R. Burrough and J. Baker, at the
Sun and Moon in Cornhill, 1708.

Esse segundo relato trata da prisão de um francês Louis Ramé, e foi publicado por Frederic Max em sua obra *Prisonniers de la Inquisition*. Max diz que não conhece o texto escrito em francês por Ramé e o viu pela primeira vez na obra anônima "Account" publicada em 1708 em Londres.⁶

O texto atribuído a Pedro Lupina Freire é uma denúncia contra a Inquisição e o autor do "Account" a considera apenas uma pequena representação dos horrores da Inquisição, sendo que o resto, diz deve ser deixado à imaginação do leitor. O documento é também interessante pela menção que faz às mulheres nas prisões inquisitoriais, o que é matéria muito pouco conhecida. Diz que não vai se referir a prisão das mulheres, porque elas são usadas com maiores sutilezas e cautela. As prisões das mulheres são mais difíceis de serem descobertas, e esse assunto deve ser tratado com cuidado, pois trata da honra das mulheres e ele teme ofendê-las.

Diz que é sabido que as "mulheres jovens" e especialmente as atraentes, eram tratadas com melhores palavras do que as outras em geral, e muita coisa podia ser dita sobre esse assunto, se ele não temesse ofender essas mulheres. Conta que vivia então em Madrid uma mulher possuidora de um alto senso de honestidade e vergonha, e que devido "ao que lhe aconteceu" numa das prisões de Portugal não encarou mais o rosto de ninguém, e por vergonha vivia reclusa em Madrid.

De grande relevância para a reavaliação de todo funcionamento do Tribunal da Inquisição é a informação que consta no texto português, como no texto em inglês sobre a *inocência* dos réus, que responde em parte à longa polêmica que se travou sobre o assunto, na década de 60 entre o prof. Antonio José Saraiva da Universidade de Lisboa e o prof. Israel Révah, do College de France. Afinal o autor anônimo descreve no "Account" a cena final do arrependimento e da morte. Considera os cristãos-novos verdadeiros cristãos, ideia também defendida pelo pde. António Vieira em diversos escritos. Duvida da sentença ser justa e mostra que os réus, mesmo quando afirmavam querer morrer na fé de Cristo, eram estrangulados e executados. O texto anônimo atribuído ao secretário da Inquisição correu pelas mãos de pessoas ilustres e causou um impacto e indignação na Cúria Romana, e um ano depois, sob ordens do papa, fechava-se a Inquisição em Portugal.⁷

A obra existente na JCBL é raríssima em sua tradução para o inglês, e de fundamental importância para os estudiosos das Inquisições modernas.

O conhecimento dessa obra permitiu que eu ampliasse meus estudos sobre a Inquisição em Portugal, e reavaliasse as novas teses desenvolvidas nos últimos anos sobre o Santo Ofício da Inquisição nos países ibéricos.

Continuam ainda dúvidas, inclusive sobre quem terá sido o autor do “Account” pois, mesmo que o pde. António Vieira tivesse mencionado o nome de Pedro de Lupina Freire em uma de suas cartas a Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo (Setembro 9, 1673) a questão não fica esclarecida e desafia para novas pesquisas.⁸

1. Vieira, Pde. António. *Obras Escolhidas*. Prefácio e Notas de António Sérgio e Hernani Cidade, Ed. Sá da Costa, 12 vol. Lisboa 1951, vol. IV, *Obras Várias* II, pp. 139–244.
2. Oliveira, Freire de. “Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa, 6º, 537, Apud Azevedo, J. Lúcio, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses*, 2a Edição, Lisboa, 1975, pp. 309 nota 1.
3. Vieira, Antonio. *Obras Várias* (ed. 1856–1857) sob a epígrafe “Informação que ao Pontífice Clemente X deu o Pde. Antonio Vieira, a qual dito papa lhe mandou fazer, estando ele em Roma, na ocasião da causa dos cristãos-novos com o Santo Ofício para a mudança dos seus estilos de processar; em que por esse motivo esteve suspensa a Inquisição por sete anos desde 1674 até 1681,” [“Information requested by the Pope and given to His Pontifice Clement X by Father Antonio Vieira during his stay in Rome, on the occasion of the appeal of the New-Christians to the Holy Office, requesting change in the manner in which it prosecutes; and for which reason the Inquisition was suspended for seven years, between 1674 and 1681.”] Apud Pde. António Vieira, *Obras Escolhidas*, cit. p. 139 Nota.
4. *Obras Escolhidas* op. cit., Pag. 140 em nota.
5. Azevedo, op. cit. p. 308, nota 2.: “Noticias Reconditas e Posthumas del Procedimiento de las Inquisiciones de España y Portugal con sus Presos,” Vila Franca (i.e., Londres, terra de liberdade), 1722. Com duas partes, a primeira em português, a segunda em castelhano.
6. Ed. Seuil, 1989.
7. Breve “Cum Dilecti” (3 de outubro de 1674) in *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 14–221. Apud Azevedo, cit. p. 310 nota 2.
8. Vieira, António Pde. *Cartas* ed. João Lucio de Azevedo, 3 vol., Ed. Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1971, tomo segundo (carta CCCV) p. 626–635.

*An account of the cruelties exercis'd
by the Inquisition in Portugal*

(London: R. Burrough and J. Baker, 1708)

by ANITA NOVINSKY

IN RECENT DECADES considerable progress has been made in the study of the modern Inquisition, particularly concerning the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Spanish Inquisition. As a result of these new studies, historians have been encouraged to reinterpret some of the classic theses regarding Inquisition Tribunals, as well as to establish a totally different outlook from that which traditional historiography has bequeathed us.

The Tribunal is presented not as an unjust, arbitrary institution, imposing horror by the mere mention of its name, but rather as a just, moral, and human entity. The so-called "New History of the Inquisition" has thus come into being, and is in fact responsible for "de-judaizing" the Spanish Tribunals, since some authors argue that the ideology which led to their establishment and preservation throughout the centuries was anti-heresy, rather than anti-Judaism in particular. Some of the works published recently are best characterized as "revisionist," which lately has also influenced studies on slavery and Naziism. The general approach to the Inquisition, as published in hundreds of studies—many of irrefutable scholarly value—remains controversial and polemical in responding to these revisionist and reductionist tendencies.

Research on the subject of the Portuguese Tribunals has been limited in comparison to studies focusing on the Spanish Tribunals. In order for real progress to be made in studies on the Inquisition there needs to be further dedication to serious research, particularly of the kind that includes the analysis of existing primary sources on the subject of the Portuguese Inquisition, many of which are not well known. These sources will allow for greater understanding and add a new dimension to this powerful institution that served the State and the Church for centuries.

A rare primary source is housed in the John Carter Brown Library, under the title: *An Account of the Cruelties Exercis'd by the Inquisition in Portugal* (London: Burrough and J. Baker at the Sun and Moon in Cornhill, 1708). I found this work at the Library in 1988, when I was researching the Inquisition in colonial America. It attracted my

attention because it had a different title from the work I already knew as "Recondite Reports Concerning the Manner in which the Inquisition Treated its Prisoners," which first appeared in 1722 and was brought to the attention of modern scholars by Hernani Cidade.¹ It was written by a Portuguese who was a member of the "inner" council of the Tribunal, the secretary or clerk of the Lisbon Inquisition. He claimed to have written it because "his conscience could not bear the barbarous cruelties and unjust treatments administered against the criminals."

To date there is no certainty as to the authorship of these "Reports." Some historians endorse the theory that it was Pedro Lupina Freire. The 1708 volume housed at the JCB, however, further increases doubts as to its authorship, since certain statements in it serve to contradict previously accepted evidence.

An article on file in Lisbon's National Archives, the Torre do Tombo, relates charges against a priest named Lupina Freire. It states that the accused was deported to Brazil for five years. Some authors who refer to Lupina Freire say that he returned to Portugal after three years, where he was then named to public office as General Administrator of the Court, with a monthly salary of 5,000 reis.²

A statement in the work housed at the JCB questions the validity of the above information. The author of *An Account*, who seems to be the same person as the author of the "Recondite Reports," says that because he was so opposed to the actions (of the Tribunal) he "decided to leave Portugal and settle in Rome in 1672," and moreover, "he did not think it safe to return to Portugal for, in the event that he should fall into the hands of the Holy Office, he might be sacrificed by the Inquisitors for revenge." The document stating that he returned to Portugal and that he was then nominated to an important post does not appear very plausible, given that it was considered an extremely serious crime to betray the inner secrets of the Tribunal. Thus, we are more apt to accept the version presented by the anonymous author of *An Account* who says that he never returned to Portugal.

It is documented that Father António Vieira, the famous Jesuit priest, was in Rome in 1672, where he appeared before the local ecclesiastical authorities in an effort to "expose" and "undermine" the Portuguese Tribunal. For a long time the "Reports" attributed to Pedro Lupina Freire were recorded as having been written by Father António Vieira, based on the fact that its contents coincided with the Jesuit's ideas.³ Vieira, however, did not write the text, though he was certainly familiar with it, having corrected it and commented upon it.

The renowned Portuguese historian Hernani Cidade states that "Recondite Reports" was published for the first time in London in 1722, and in Italian by the Portuguese-born rabbi David Neto.⁴ João Lúcio de Azevedo confirms its publication in 1722, stating that it consisted of two parts: the first in Portuguese and the second in Spanish.⁵

In comparing the JCB edition of *An Account* with the text published by Hernani Cidade, we note that it consists of the same anonymous work, which was probably translated into English fourteen years before the Italian and Spanish version. It is interesting that *An Account* also contains a preface by an anonymous author who claims to have been obliged to publish it, [because] just prior to publication a friend communicated to him the existence of another "report" which documented the treatment of those who fell into the hands of the *Spanish* Inquisition in America. This fact demonstrates that the Inquisition in Spain acted with the same intent of persecution as did the Inquisition in Portugal.

A second account concerns the imprisonment of a Frenchman, Louis Ramé, that was published by Frederic Max in his work *Prisonniers de la Inquisition*. Max states that he was not acquainted with the text written in French by Ramé and that he saw it for the first time in the anonymous *Account* published in London in 1708.⁶

The text attributed to Pedro Lupina Freire is a denunciation of the Inquisition, which the author of *An Account* believes to represent the horrors of the Inquisition only to a limited degree, the rest being left to the reader's imagination. The document is interesting also for its mention of women in the women's prisons. This charge was more difficult to document and was a subject that needed to be treated with care since it involved women's honor, and the author's fear of offending the women prisoners.

According to this text, it was known that "young women," especially attractive ones, were treated in a kinder manner than the others in general, and that much more could be said about this subject "had he not feared offending these women." He tells of a woman possessing a high degree of integrity and propriety who lived in Madrid, and who, owing to "what happened to her" in one of Portugal's prisons, never again looked at anyone's face, and who lived reclusively in Madrid out of shame.

Material concerning the innocence of the accused, found in the Portuguese text as well as in the English text, is of great relevance to the reevaluation of the overall operations of the Inquisition Tribunal. This information also partially responds to the long debate on the subject that took place during the 1960s between Professor Antonio José Saraiva of the University of Lisbon and Professor Israel Révah of the College de France. Finally, in *An Account* the anonymous author describes the last scene of repentance and death. He considers the New-Christians, that is, the converted Jews, true Christians, a position also defended by Father António Vieira in several of his writings. He questions the justice of the sentences while demonstrating that even when the accused chose to die in the faith of Christ, they were still strangled and executed.

The anonymous text attributed to the secretary of the Inquisition circulated among eminent individuals, causing shock and indignation in the Papal court. Upon orders of the Pope a year later the Inquisition in Portugal was suspended.⁷

The work housed in the JCB is extremely rare because it is an English translation; it is of fundamental significance to scholars of modern Inquisitions. Knowledge of this work served to expand my studies of the Inquisition in Portugal and allowed me to reinterpret theories developed recently, concerning the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Iberian countries.

Questions still remain, including those that address the authorship of *An Account*. For instance, although Father António Vieira mentioned the name of Pedro Lupina Freire in one of his letters to Father Manoel Fernandes (dated 9 September 1673) the issue is still unresolved, and calls for further investigation.⁸

Translated by MARGUERITE I. HARRISON

“The Milk Has Not Curdled”
[Officer’s journal of the proceedings of the Dutch
merchant ship *Arents Bergh* of Amsterdam]

[1714–1715]

by WIM KLOOSTER

WHEN THE SUBJECT is commercial history, conducting research is seldom exciting. One of the few moments that makes my heart beat faster, however, is when the time has come to quantify my data. That is when trends become visible and my hypothesis is put to the test. But there is more to trade history than the anonymous exchange of commodities. It involves people as well. As a rule, little of what makes up their day-to-day business is recorded, and consequently anything which does survive is precious.

My dissertation dealt with Dutch trade in the Caribbean (1648–1795), and even though the manuscript was finished by the time I arrived in Providence, I was thrilled to find at the JCB the original log of a Dutch merchantman which left Amsterdam for the Caribbean in 1714. For more than six months, the *Arentsbergh* was engaged in trade with Spanish colonial settlements in the southwestern corner of the Caribbean.

The intriguing thing about this ship’s log is that it is a tale of the crew’s activities ashore and afloat. Daily routine jobs included fetching water and firewood, as well as sending letters to Spanish villages and towns to attract the interest of local merchants. The use of a password mentioned in the log probably facilitated contacts with these merchants. In phonetical Spanish it is written: “The milk has not curdled.”

The log also reveals how international the crew’s make-up was. When the ship’s boat capsized near Chagres (Panama) and five sailors perished, their birthplaces were listed as Amsterdam, Lübeck, Gothenburg, and Karlskrona. The pilot steering the vessel in Panamanian waters was a Jamaican, hired by the Dutch captain who thus availed himself of a time-honored expedient. When the ship subsequently ran aground, the pilot got the blame and without much ado, he was dropped ashore and chased away. Gradually, the ship’s hold was filled with cacao and tobacco. The return cargo must have included a lot of “miscellanies” as well, if the captain succeeded in securing the items on an exotic shopping-list at the beginning of the log. It is highly doubtful, however, that he was able to get his hands on the last items on the list: “A parrot and a parakeet that both speak Dutch.”

Wim Klooster was an Alexander O. Vieter Memorial Fellow at the Library in 1995–1996. At the time of his appointment he was a research assistant at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, where he also earned his doctorate. Presently, he is the recipient of a grant from NWO, the Dutch organization for scholarly research, and is working on a book on mercantilism.

N^o 5714

Op Saterdag Den 11 Augustus '81 morgens de
wint oost noods oost mytfrisse
Laelte met de dag wafelt
St^e Martha gepeijlt 20 1/2 mijl
des Land vachts gegist loers
Leder de grond veylinght 2 W
1/2 W = 4 mijl Brens ongt St^e Martha
Luyde van ons 3 mijl & ditto
gepeijlt 20 3/4 mijl
des doot drijven met de
Koomen in stroom Reek am de Noordooste
gajeren dat in middaghs kregen en jaelt
de paerdes goute haff wylt Noord gaffe wader mede
Tant ande ontrent 2 vuren nademiddaghs
kane vande
Rivers kavin in gajeren quamen waer mids
van is
Breytinghe naer dat ten anes
was giffen om met de wahter
vande Reant te spaeken
die na dat met Enige spangers
last geesproochdes avonts
wederom aen boort quam met
Licentia om te visschen ende
water te haelen des dewint uyt
den Nothe des ontrent 7 vuren
quam uyt St^e Martha een knor
aen boort waer in de opperst^e
met een mattras van Cap^e vete

Teer volgh Cabriel masinesz Tyn deden
13 maj aen dewaterspaets van
Don Antonio Terlar door den Spaenden
gevreesd Capⁿ Don Pedro Diego en een
admesant Praegetijn genomen en tot
Castaxera opgebragt

Op Sondag Den 12. Ditto Niet Tonders
voornalle als een Prijs aen
den Gouverneur van St^e Martha
en een aen dito. Cap^e Gabriel
maines die in St^e Martha was
om met een Besck naer mara
kegaen en vande aen naer fusaco
sevens Tyn schijver genaemt
Furiaen Scholte

Op Maendagh Den 13 ditto '81 morgens
Brecken wij onbegroote steng
om Laeghalsoo des selfs
Land salen mosten veranderen
gelijk wij deden wij deden niet
Tonders voor givelle als die
Brieven en gien Mon pot gedon
den aen dree Disonderes popt
om als op geen gelegent hiff was
om te Negotieeren over die
Veste

John Rogers.

*A mid-night-cry from the temple of God to the
ten virgins slumbering and sleeping; awake,
awake, arise, and gird your loyns, and trim
your lamps, for behold the bridegroom cometh,
go ye therefore out to meet him*

(New London: [T. Green?, 1722])

by SERGEI IVANOVICH ZHUK

STUDYING THE QUAKERS' attitudes toward other sectarian groups, I attempted to recover the "Friends" worldview and their comprehension of themselves as a "Christian people" through the study of their perception of others who were related to them historically and theologically. Currents of thought that are theoretically related (as Soviet Marxism and Western Neo-Marxism) are often inimical to each other. Their hostility allows their adherents to crystallize their perception of themselves as a peculiar social group and to strengthen their ideological and ethical differences.

Looking through the "Journals" of the "Public Friends" who visited British colonies in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I found descriptions of the Quaker ministers' disputes with one "Ranter-like, Enthusiastic Preacher" John Rogers from Connecticut. Developing an interest in Rogers, I dug out from the wonderful JCB collection Rogers' works that had been published in colonial America: *An Epistle to the Churches of Christ, call'd Quakers*, [N.Y., 1705]; *An Epistle Sent from God to the World...* New London, 1718; *The Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ...* Boston, 1720; *A Mid-Night-Cry from the Temple of God...* [New York, 1705]; and others.

The last book was especially important for me because it included all the treatises and tracts that elucidate Rogers' main doctrines and attitudes towards different religious groups (including Quakers). Most of these tracts were written in 1703–1706 when Rogers had been meeting the "Quakers' Priests" who, after the famous Keithian schism among New Jersey and Pennsylvania "Friends," tried to scold, rebuke, "revile," "disregard, slight and shun" any kind of charismatic doctrines and preachers, such as "this suspicious ignorant Baptist from New London." Thus, I was able to compare the attitudes and approaches of the man who considered himself (and had been considered by others) as a Quaker, "being a member of the christian Church without Sectarian Divisions," with Samuel Bownas' and other "Public Friends'" attitudes who distanced themselves from him.

As the editor of his works, Joseph Bolles, remarked in 1721, John Rogers (1648–1721) "was a Shoemaker by Trade, and zealous of the New England way of

In 1994 Sergei Zhuk held a Barbara S. Mosbacher Fellowship at the Library. At the time of his application he was an associate professor at the Dniepropetrovsk State University, Ukraine, where he is currently a professor in the Department of History, specializing in North American studies.

Concerning Marriage and Divorce.

GEN. 1. 27. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, Male and Female created he them. Thus was the Woman created in the Man, as appears in the 5 chap. 2. Male and Female created he them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam in the day when they were created; so that it appears they were created in one body, and were one flesh and bone, *Mat. 2. 15.* And did not he make one, yet had he the residue of the spirit, and could have created them single, and distinct in two bodies; upon the consideration of this, saith the Prophet, to the husband, therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously against the Wife of his Youth; for the Lord the God of Israel saith, that he hateth putting away; which doth import, for as much as God created the man and woman in one body, so that he made them one in their first creation; and therefore hateth a separation after they are united and become one flesh, by the union of Marriage. *Gen. 2. 21, 22, 23.* And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and he took one of his Ribs,

Ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof, and the Rib which the Lord God had taken from Man, builded he a Woman; and brought her unto the Man, and Adam said, this is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Thus was Woman taken out of the side of the Man, near his heart, and then brought to him by God, to be joyned to him again, by a Marriage union; and when Adam saw her, he said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, because she was of him, even taken out of him, and now brought to him again by God, to be joyned to him, and therefore (saith the Lord, in the 24 v.) shall a man leave his Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife, and they shall be one flesh. Thus hath God joyned them together, shewing that a Man shall leave his Father that begot him, and his Mother that brought him forth, and shall cleave to his Wife; so that God ordaineth a separation from Father and Mother, but a perpetual union between a Man and his Wife; they are to pass their days together by Gods decree, and none can separate them without high contempt against Gods Authority, by violating his ordinance of Marriage; for God hath thus joyned them together, and hath decreed that a Man shall thus

Worship, 'til about the 24th Year of Age, it pleased God to lay before his consideration, the vanity of earthly things; and the necessity of being at peace with God by Jesus Christ; which he sought for by Secret Prayer, 'til it pleased God to answer his request, and in process of time, made him able to teach others also." (Rogers, J. *A Mid-Night-Cry*, preface.)

Rogers joined the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, but then because of his radical beliefs he broke with that denomination to establish his own sect in 1677. As Carla Pestana comments, his adherents, called "Rogerenes, held an eclectic assortment of Baptist, Quaker, and other views, which Rogers proclaimed in strident, apocalyptic language. Despite frequent court appearances and occasional prison confinements, the Rogerenes remained active in the New London area for more than a century. They carried on the tradition of radical sectarian activity long after the Quakers had accommodated to the conventions of civil society and the Ranters had ceased to exist. Although they drew upon English radical religions, the Rogerenes were perhaps the first indigenous American sect." (*Liberty of Conscience and the Growth of Religious Diversity in Early America, 1636-1786*. Providence: JCB, 1986, p. 56).

Rogers offered to Quakers the possibility of dialogue, and in his letter to them he praised them and called them his "Brothers, Beloved in God" to whom he speaks "by a Spiritual and Divine Understanding, which is given me by the Spirit of Truth." (*A Mid-Night-Cry*, pp. 189-218). Moreover, he declared the union of all Christians ("Papists, Quakers, or Baptists"): "We must have no respect to sects. . . . Thus we see the members of Christ are not Sectaries, but are united together in a perfect bond of Love and Unity" (*An Epistle Sent from God*, pp. 39-40). The Quakers rejected a dialogue because of their fear of religious radicalism. Some of these tracts were printed by W. Bradford, a former "Keithian," which made them unacceptable to orthodox "Friends." Keithian controversy had put an end to any kind of dialogue with "enthusiastic, charismatic" leaders, especially with those Ranter-like preachers. Nevertheless, all these spiritual dialogues and controversies laid a foundation for future American toleration and pluralism. They accustomed American colonists to a diversity of opinions and to the necessity of resolving differences not with violence and bloodshed but through peaceable discussion at public meetings and in the press.

Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo
Rocha y Benavides.
Jubilos de Lima y fiestas reales

(Lima: I. de Luna y Bohorques, 1723)

by JOSÉ ANTONIO MAZZOTTI

ESTA ES UNA PIEZA poco difundida dentro de la abundante obra del sabio y polígrafo peruano Pedro de Peralta (1664–1743). No sorprende que no se le haya dedicado la atención debida, pues aparentemente es sólo la crónica descriptiva de un acontecimiento celebratorio realizado en Lima o Ciudad de los Reyes durante los primeros meses de 1722 por la noticia de las bodas de Luis Fernando, Príncipe de Asturias, con la Princesa de Orleans, y de la Infanta María Ana Victoria con el Rey Luis XV de Francia. Peralta, uno de los más prominentes hombres de letras de su tiempo, narra las diversas actividades de la celebración ordenadas por el Virrey Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón. Curiosamente, esta crónica describe no sólo las usuales alegorías, carros, fuegos artificiales, corridas de toros y otros eventos protagonizados por la población blanca de Lima, sino también el desfile organizado por los habitantes indígenas de la ciudad y sus alrededores. Este desfile era una representación de la genealogía de los incas según la propia tradición local. Tal práctica no era del todo inusual en eventos de este tipo. Sin embargo, lo interesante del libro es que el relato del desfile indígena en la Plaza Mayor de Lima en abril de 1722 es presidido por un “Compendio del Origen y Serie de los Incas,” en el que Peralta propone su propia versión de la historia incaica, recogiendo fuentes criollas (como fray Buenaventura

de Salinas) y mestizas (como el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega), y rescatando así el papel de los incas en el pasado y el de los criollos en el presente. Los planteamientos de Peralta son fundamentales para conocer la utilización que un importante criollo de la época hacía de la información histórica disponible en su momento con miras a proponer una idea de la totalidad social del Virreinato. Este texto forma parte importante de las fuentes que encontré en sus primeras ediciones durante mi investigación (otoño de 1994) en la John Carter Brown Library. Se encuentra encuadrado con otros de su tiempo en el Tomo I de una colección titulada *Noticias del Perú*, que perteneció a José Toribio Medina, y no forma parte de las obras de Peralta conservadas en la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Fue publicado en Lima, en la Imprenta de la Calle de Palacio.

In 1994–95 José Mazzotti held a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the Library. At the time of his application he was a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Temple University, a position he continues to hold.

Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo
Rocha y Benavides.
Jubilos de Lima y fiestas reales

(Lima: I. de Luna y Bohorques, 1723)

by JOSÉ ANTONIO MAZZOTTI

THIS IS A LITTLE-KNOWN piece within the vast work of the Peruvian scholar and eclectic writer Pedro de Peralta (1664–1743). That it has not received the attention it deserves is not surprising, since it appears to be simply the description of a celebratory event held in Lima or Ciudad de los Reyes (City of the Kings) during the first few months of 1722, on the occasion of the news of the weddings of Luis Fernando, Prince of Asturias, and the Princess of Orleans, along with that of the Infanta María Ana Victoria and King Louis XV of France.

Peralta, one of the most prominent men of letters of his time, narrates the various activities of the celebration that had been ordained by the Viceroy, Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón. But curiously, this chronicle describes not only the usual allegories, floats, fireworks, bull-fights, and other events dominated by the white population of Lima, but also a parade organized by the indigenous inhabitants of the city and its outskirts. This parade was a representation of the genealogy of the Incas according to local tradition; such a practice was not entirely out of the ordinary in events of this type. However, the interesting part of the book is that the account of the indigenous parade in Lima's *Plaza Mayor* in April of 1722 is preceded by a "Compendium of the Origin and Succession of the Incas," in which Peralta proposes his own version of Incan history, drawing from sources both creole (like Fray Buenaventura de Salinas)

and *mestizo* (like the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega), in this way redeeming the role of the Incas in the past and the creoles in the present.

Peralta's conception of Inca history is fundamental to understanding how an important creole of the epoch utilized the historical information available at the time in order to present an idea of the entire social realm of the Viceroyalty, not just the Spanish. This text is one of the primary sources that I found during my fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library. It is bound with other works of the period in Volume I of a collection entitled *Noticias del Perú* (News of Peru), which belonged to José Toribio Medina, and it is not included in the works of Peralta conserved at the National Library of Peru.

Translation by LISA VOIGT

3.



1723
 Imprenta
 de la casa
 de la Real Academia de la Historia
 1701

DESCRIPCION
 DELAS FIESTAS
 REALES.

NOTICIA DE LOS *AVGVSTOS* CA-
samientos , y aparato de su
celebracion .



Siempre han sido los publicos
 gozos en celebracion delas ac-
 ciones de los Principes los
 mas preciosos tributos de su
 veneracion: pues siendo el
 amor el deudor que los rinde y el thesorero,
 q̃ los recoge desimismo, los hace tanto mas
 profuso , quanto los pretende aumentar
 mas eficaz. Son los omenages del alma, que
 hechos sobre el semblante, producen como
 feudos las demonstraciones. Son vna mutua

A2

in-

Diego de Tapia.
*Confessionario en lengua cumanagota y
de otras naciones de indios de la provincia
de Cumana*

(Madrid: P. Fernandez, 1723)

by CARLOS A. MAYO

FRAY DIEGO DE TAPIA pasó 23 años confesando indios en las misiones franciscanas de la provincia de Cumaná, en el noreste de Venezuela. Allí, entre los cumanagotos y otros grupos indígenas afines que se pintaban el cuerpo, se deformaban el cráneo y no exigían virginidad a sus, en ocasiones, numerosas esposas, este fraile descubrió, como otros religiosos antes que él, cuán difícil era administrar el sacramento cristiano de la penitencia a los aborígenes. Fruto de su experiencia, es este voluminoso manual que dejaba a los confesores que vinieran detrás de él para ayudarlos a abrirse camino en las esquivas conciencias de los indios.

El indígena, advertía así, llegaba al confesionario sin haber echo un examen de conciencia, manifestaba escaso interés en referir sus pecados (Fray Diego pronto descubrió que sus penitentes indígenas temían morir si se confesaban) y no mostraban la menor señal de arrepentimiento. A veces respondían afirmativamente a todas las preguntas que les hacía el sacerdote y cuando éste se interesaba por saber cuántas veces había cometido un mismo pecado contestaban invariablemente "diez veces" (a poco de llegado se percató Fray Diego que los cumanagotos no sabían contar más que hasta diez o veinte).

Implantar la confesión entre los indios implicaba, como bien afirma Serge Gruzinski, imponerles una serie de categorías fijas para evaluar sus propios actos.

Así el *Confessionario* de Fray Diego de Tapia incluye un muy completo y enfervientemente minucioso modelo de interrogatorio (que incluyen en este caso hasta las posibles repuestas de los indios) para ayudar al confesor novato a descubrir (¿a construir quizás?) los pecados de sus evasivos penitentes nativos.

La obsesión, típica de aquellos confesionarios, por el control del cuerpo y la sexualidad indígena es llevada aquí hasta el paroxismo. Así, se inquiere por la masturbación femenina y se pregunta a los indios sospechados de zoofilia por el tipo de animal objeto de su deseo ("¿Fue con perro?", "¿Era cabrito?", "¿Gallina era?").

No muchos confesionarios coloniales tienen la riqueza de éste para comprender las dificultades, los equívocos y las resistencias que encontró la confesión cristiana en el mundo aborígen. He aquí pues un texto admirable para estudiar *el desencuentro* de América.

Carlos Mayo was a Tinker-Lampadia fellow at the Library in 1991-1992. At the time of his application he was a professor of history at the University of La Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he continues to teach.

Diego de Tapia.
*Confessionario en lengua cumanagota y
de otras naciones de indios de la provincia
de Cumana*

(Madrid: P. Fernandez, 1723)

by CARLOS A. MAYO

FRAY DIEGO DE TAPIA spent twenty-three years confessing Indians at the Franciscan missions in the province of Cumaná, in northeastern Venezuela. There, among the Cumanagoto Indians and other related indigenous groups that painted their bodies, deformed their skulls, and did not require virginity from their sometimes numerous wives, this friar discovered—like other clerics before him—how difficult it was to administer the Christian sacrament of penitence to the aborigines. The fruit of his experience, this voluminous manual was left to help the confessors who followed him open a path into the elusive consciences of the Indians.

The Indians, he warned, arrived at confessional without having before examined their consciences, manifested scant interest in disclosing their sins (Fray Diego soon discovered that the indigenous peni-

tents were afraid of dying if they confessed), and failed to demonstrate the least sign of remorse. At times they responded affirmatively to all the questions put to them by the priest, and when he tried to find out how many times they had committed a sin, they invariably answered “ten times” (shortly after arriving, Fray Diego noted that the Cumanagoto Indians could not count to more than ten or twenty).

Establishing the practice of confession among the Indians implied, as Serge Gruzinski has correctly affirmed, the imposing of a series of fixed categories to evaluate their actions. Thus, Fray Diego de Tapia’s *Confessionario* includes a very complete and disturbingly meticulous model of interrogation (even including the possible responses of the Indians), in order to help the novice confessor discover (or invent?) the sins of his evasive native penitents.

The obsession with the control of the body and indigenous sexuality, typical of the confessionals of the time, is here carried to a paroxysmal extreme. They inquired about feminine masturbation, and Indians suspected of zoophilia were asked which type of animal was the object of their desire (“Was it with a dog?” “Was it a goat?” “Was it a chicken?”).

Not many colonial confessionals have such a wealth of material for understanding the difficulties, ambiguities, and resistance that the Christian confession encountered in the indigenous world. Here is, then, an admirable text for studying the *misencounter* of America.

Translation by LISA VOIGT

562 *Plática.*
Ella:
„Siendo yo muchacha, quando yo andaba a la escuela, lo callé.
EnchaptiK huechiriau, vel escuelayau huechiriau huonamui muenè.

CONFESSOR.

„Pues todos los pecados que tu sabes, que hiziste, antes que te casaras, Muen amachir temere ayahuaroto enitpur aputaprare,

A ella.

„Antes que te casaras, confiesfalos aora. Ivyetaprare, enequeremaque chahuanà.

„P. Quando tu andabas a la escuela, anduviste inquieto con mugeres?

P. Escuelayau avechiriauca huericham pueque?

A ella.

„Con hombres? Huaraztompueque ayaznanca? vel ayachinimuica?

„R. No anduve, ò siempre anduve por ellas, ò por ellos.

R. Achimbrahuechi, vel R. yachinimui para vrè.

„P. Las fornicaste?

P. Mecuicomca?

A

William Rand.
*The late religious commotions in
New-England considered*

(Boston: Bushell and Allen, for T. Fleet, 1743)

by EDWIN GAUSTAD

LONG BEFORE I BECAME a JCB Fellow, I was a JCB debtor and devotee. As a graduate student at Brown from 1947 to 1951, I soon learned of the scholarly riches within ready reach in a quiet corner of the University campus. Those many decades ago, I also learned of gracious hospitality, especially from Lawrence C. Wroth, Jeanette Black, and Marion Adams. When some manuscript letters pertaining to a seventeenth-century Baptist schism in Providence came into the Library's possession, Dr. Wroth went so far as to turn them over to a lowly graduate student for perusal and sifting. The result was my first article, as well as the first of many "thank-you's" to the JCB.

When I launched into my dissertation research on the Great Awakening in New England, the Library proved as indispensable as it was welcoming. It provided the map (*A Map of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania*, H. Moll, Geographer, 1730) that enabled me to portray the area of the frontier revival, 1734-35, as well as the route of George Whitefield's first tour of New England in the fall of 1740. The Library's holdings also inspired my first and only venture into bibliographic detective work. One of the JCB's handsomely bound pamphlets, *The late Religious Commotions in New-England considered . . .* (Boston, 1743) had been regularly attributed to Charles Chauncy, Boston's most prolific antirevivalist. I had reason to doubt that attribution and, once I had the smell of blood, went on to question several other dubious attributions to Chauncy.

Dr. Wroth suggested that I try to publish the results of this sleuthing in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. To my amazement, if not to his, the article was accepted (Vol. 45, 1951) and I was elated.

When the dissertation was completed, then duly revised, and published by Harper & Brothers in 1957, I thanked several libraries for their assistance, freely given. Then I wrote, "From all I have received considerable and liberal aid, but particularly from the John Carter Brown Library whose staff I have most often troubled." Remarkably, they did not seem to mind then, nor do they mind now.

In the course of an American Council of Learned Societies fellowship, I had occasion once again to raid the resources of the JCB, as well as the John Hay Library, as part of my research for an historical atlas of religion in America. After that final year at Brown, 1952-53, I relocated far from Providence and environs, being employed mainly on the West Coast. Yet I continued to "borrow" from the JCB, now taking advantage of the more modern technologies (for that day) of photocopy and microfilm. Then, many years later, in connection with researching a biography of Roger Williams, I seized the opportunity to return to that serene, heavily carpeted, central reading room. The summer fellowship allowed me to commune with familiar spirits as well to exploit, still again, the unique resources of a grand and gracious institution. *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America* (1991) cannot possibly mark the end of a relationship so durable, so beautiful.

At the time of his fellowship at the Library in the spring of 1987, Edwin Gaustad was a professor in the History Department at the University of California at Riverside. He is currently Professor Emeritus.

52.4
The late Religious Commotions ¹⁷²
New-England considered.

A N

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A N S W E R

To the Reverend

Mr. *Jonathan Edwards's*

S E R M O N,

Entitled,

*The distinguishing Marks of a Work
of the Spirit of GOD, applied to that
uncommon Operation that has lately
appeared on the Minds of many of
the People of this Land.*

In a *LETTER* to a Friend.

Together with

A P R E F A C E,

By Rev. Wm. R. D.
Containing an Examination of the Rev. Mr. WILLIAM
COOPER's Preface to Mr. EDWARDS's SERMON.

By a *Lover* of Truth and Peace.

B O S T O N: Printed by Green, Bushell, and Allen, for
T. Fleet in Cornhil. 1 7 4 3.

*Jubilos da América, na gloriosa exaltação,
e promoção do illustrissimo e excellentissimo
Senhor Gomes Freire de Andrada*

(Lisbon: Officina do Dr. Manoel Alvares Sollano, 1754)

by ERNST PIJNING

IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY, I encountered an interesting bundle of poetry entitled *Jubilees of America* (*Jubilos da América*), printed in Lisbon in the year 1754. The authors were a group of intellectuals, organized in a literary group called the Academy of the Selected (*Académia dos Selectos*) in Rio de Janeiro.

The authors applauded the success of the Brazilian governor Gomes Freire de Andrade in the re-establishment of royal authority over Rio de Janeiro and over the gold mines district after the world's first gold rush. This could only have occurred under the leadership of a loyal and incorruptible governor. At no time was the honor and personal integrity of Gomes Freire de Andrade called into question. As governor of Rio de Janeiro he enjoyed the trust of subject and sovereign alike as the following poem demonstrates:

Do Povo só o respeito.

Cur Populo cultus placuit?
cur displicet aurum?

Num quia corruptos
aurea dextra facit?

Vel quia ut Heroum pectus non
venditur auro,

Hinc pretio nullo Freyre
subesse potest?

Rem capio: argenti vilesцит
minus, & auri,

Regia cùm titulis dextera
plena venit.

From the People only respect.

Why did the adoration of the
people please?

Why did gold displease?

Surely it is not because the golden
right makes them corrupt?

Or because, since the heart of the
heroes is not sold for gold,

Therefore Freyre cannot be
compromised for any price?

I understand the situation, the gift
of silver and gold becomes
worthless,

When the Royal hand of
friendship comes full of titles.

Whereas his predecessors had been behoven to the municipal council for their income—thereby placing them in the invidious and constraining position of depending on the good will of the councilors—Gomes Freire de Andrade was free of this constraint and thus could follow his own incorruptible code of honor. This enabled him to gain the confidence of the Brazilian people who had so long suffered from conflicts between governors and powerful men undermining royal authority.

Ernst Pijning is a graduate student in the Department of History at Johns Hopkins University, and held a fellowship at the Library in 1993. His fellowship was sponsored by the Center for New World Comparative Studies. Mr. Pijning expects to receive his doctoral degree in 1996.

Da América. 161

MAXIMA SECUNDA.

Do poro só o respeito.

EPIGRAMMA.

CUr Populi cultus placuit, cur displicet aurum?
Num quia corruptos aurea dextra facit?
Vel quia ut Heroum pectus non venditur auro,
Hinc pretio nullo Freyre subesse potest?
Rem capio: argenti vilescit munus, & auri,
Regia cum titulis dextera plena venit.

MAXIMA QUARTA.

O que se dá a Deos, dá-lo totalmente.

EPIGRAMMA.

STêma tuum, Nomenque negas in fronte locari;
Totum Opus ut discant, te applicuisse Deo.
Istod Opus Superis sacrâs Nomen & ipsum
Non Tibi designas: omnia danda Deo.
Non benè cum Superis fieret de Nomine Thesis,
Quando negas operi quod Tibi Fama dabit.

Charles Thomson.

*An enquiry into the causes of the alienation
of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from
the British interest*

(London: J. Wilkie, 1759)

by FRANCIS JENNINGS

IN 1986, I HAD A BRIEF but happy fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library while researching for my Seven Years War book, *Empire of Fortune*. I came across a unique copy of Charles Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London: J. Wilkie, 1759). It was unique because it was annotated in the margins by Thomas Penn, lord proprietor of Pennsylvania, whose anti-Indian policies Thomson had itemized in damning detail.

Thomson wrote as part of an upsurge by Pennsylvanians in opposition to proprietary (feudal) government. On one flank it was led by Benjamin Franklin and the provincial assembly, on another by Israel Pemberton, Jr., and the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures. Independent of each other, these agencies were strongly motivated to stop Indian attacks on outpost settlers during the mid-century showdown war of France and Britain. Franklin and Pemberton both were concerned as to whether Thomas Penn had cheated Indians in land transactions, thus enraging them to commit hostilities. The author of the *Enquiry*, Charles Thomson, had cooperated with both leaders.

Penn understood that if he was proved to have cheated the Indians he could lose his chartered lordship. (The Powhatan uprising in 1622 had entailed resumption of direct control of the colony of Virginia by the crown.) Penn fought strenuously and desperately to save his "honour." He and

his dependent placemen fabricated documents purporting that Penn had always dealt fairly with the Indians, and these were accepted by professionals as legitimate and true for two centuries.

Thomson's *Enquiry* opened them to doubt. Penn saw its importance and tried to discredit it. He commented (in the margins of the JCB's copy) that "the Minisinks (Indians) were never supposed owners of Land on the west side of Delaware [River], but in 1737 Thomas had solicited Minisink chiefs Lappawinzo, Tishcohan, and Manawkyhickon to agree to the fraudulent Walking Purchase of Delaware land. He even had portraits painted of two of them which still hang in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania building.

Penn also challenged Thomson with the comment that "the Six Nations [of Iroquois Indians] always claimed a right to the Lands on Delaware," which he knew was false because they had renounced such a right when treating with him in 1736. They had to be heavily bribed to make such a claim against their "cousins" the Delawares.

The JCB book is insufficient in itself to expose the machinations of the Walking Purchase and the documents fabricated to uphold it. All of those complications must be patiently unraveled from many other documents, but the JCB's copy of Thomson positively reveals Penn's mendacity in his own handwriting. It is a final "smoking gun."

Francis Jennings was a Library fellow in 1986 while he was Director Emeritus of the McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago. His latest book, a study of Benjamin Franklin's role in Pennsylvania politics, will appear shortly.

Ear to the *French*, who declared that they did not come to deprive the *Indians* of their Land, but to hinder the *English* from settling westward of the *Allegheny Hills*. The Council of the Six Nations were also displeased at this Grant: For it is to be observed, that this Sale or Grant was not made agreeable to the Method which the Deputies of the Six Nations, at the Treaty of 1742, declared they always observed in the Sale of Lands. It was not agreed upon in the Council of *Onondago*, but condemned by them as soon as they heard of it: Neither were there any Deputies from the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, who looked on these Lands as a Part of their Possession guaranteed to them by the *Senecas*. In what Manner, and by what Means, this Grant was obtained, is well known to some who attended the Treaty, as well as the Artifices used for near a Week to induce the *Indians* to execute the Deed.

The People of *Connecticut* had, under Colour of their Charter, laid Claim to some Lands in the North-West Part of the Province of *Pennsylvania*; and, but a short Time before, some Persons had come from thence and made Surveys a little above *Shamokin*. At this Treaty, their Commissioners wanted to treat with the *Indians* about the Purchase of these Lands. The Proprietary Agent hearing this, endeavoured to be before-hand, and proposed to purchase the Lands for the Proprietors. The *Indians* refused to sell. Hereupon it was represented to them, that, unless they signed something of a Writing for these Lands to the Proprietary Agent, it would be taken for granted that they had either sold them to the *French*, or intended to sell them to the People of *New-England*. In order, therefore,

to remove that Suspicion, some of the *Indians* were, after much Persuasion, by the Interest of a Person known to have a considerable Influence among the *Indians*, or at least those of the *Mohock* Nation, prevailed upon to sign the Release, contrary to the established Custom and Usage of the Six Nations, not so much with a View of conveying the Lands, as to give the Proprietaries Assurance that they would not sell them to any other. Yet even this could not be obtained without some private Presents to particular *Indians* of known Influence and Authority.

In the Fall of this Year *Conrad Weiser* was sent by the Governor to meet at *Aughwick* (or *Aucquick*) the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* who lived on *Ohio*. As he had been very active in the Bargain lately made at *Albany*, it was necessary he should now use his Endeavours to palliate that Transaction, in such a Manner as would give least Umbrage to the Possessors of the Lands, which were thus purchased without their Privy or Consent. The Account he thought proper to give in Writing of this Part of his Business, or at least so much as was laid before the Assembly, is very short. He only says, that at this Meeting he informed the *Indians*, at their own Request, of what was done in the Treaty at *Albany*, and of the Purchase of Land that was made there. They immediately shewed their Dissatisfaction: Soon after this, *Shecalamy* declared, that the *Indians* did not understand the Points of the Compass, but if the Line was so run as to include the western Branch of *Susquebannah* they would never agree to it. But, upon letting them know the *New-England* People's Design, and putting them in Mind, that the *French* had possessed themselves of the *Ohio* Lands, which they might look on

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.
*Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo,
y venerable siervo de Dios don Juan
de Palafox y Mendoza*

(Madrid, 1762)

by FRANCESCO DONNINI

DURANTE LA MIA PERMANENZA a Providence, nel 1982, ho lavorato a lungo sulla bella edizione dell' *Obras* di Juan de Palafox (Madrid, 1762).

Il vescovo Palafox, in Messico (1640–1649), scatenò violentissime polemiche: per un certo periodo, egli dispose di enormi poteri politici e religiosi, ed entrò in conflitto, da un lato, con gli Ordini religiosi—e soprattutto con i Gesuiti—dall'altro, con gli ufficiali spagnoli venuti nelle Indie per arricchirsi e ritornare poi in patria (*Gachupin*), e con i loro funzionari indiani. Infatti Palafox identificava la volontà di Dio—e quindi l'interesse del Re—con la causa del basso Clero secolare e di quegli Spagnoli ormai decisi a rimanere in Messico per costituire una nuova Nazione (*Creoli*).

In particolare si oppose alla redditizia organizzazione gesuitica del lavoro indiano nelle grandi aziende missionarie praticamente indipendenti dal potere dello Stato (*Riduzioni*). Tale organizzazione, ostacolando la spagnolizzazione degli Indiani, impediva la nascita della nuova nazione ispano-americana voluta dai Creoli, in quanto conservava la cultura antagonista degli Indiani e impediva la sostituzione dei funzionari indiani con il Clero secolare iberico o ispanizzante. Al tempo stesso, tuttavia, le "Riduzioni" sviluppavano in modo incontrollabile il commercio nel Pacifico, opponendosi al desiderio del re di mantenere la colonia dipendente economicamente dalla Madrepatria.

Durante la contesa, Palafox sopravvisse a un'accanita persecuzione, divenendo l'eroe dei Creoli. La sua opposizione ai Gesuiti piacque però anche ai Giansenisti, condannati dalla Chiesa di Roma per le

loro teorie sulla Grazia. Dopo la morte di Palafox, l'imbarazzante sostegno giansenista ne ha impedito fino ad oggi la beatificazione che sembrava sicura poiché il Tribunale ecclesiastico lo aveva iscritto già nel numero dei *Venerabili*.

Nelle *Obras* vi è una singolare autobiografia, la *Vida interior*, che Palafox scrisse dopo il suo ritorno in Spagna. Egli descrive le sue disavventure messicane come opere della misericordia divina. Ritene infatti che, in Messico, il libero arbitrio minacciasse continuamente la salvezza della sua anima, e che le disgrazie siano state puntuali segnali, inviati appositamente da Dio, che gli hanno permesso di non smarrire la "retta via." In questa lettura totalmente finalistica della propria storia, Palafox analizza perplesso le proprie visioni e di allucinazioni, e si sforza di distinguerne volta per volta la natura, per mezzo di in una fitta *routine* di rituali, e al tempo stesso di continue operazioni di razionalizzazione.

Ad esempio Palafox stabilisce una catena causale fra la propria ambizione e il rilassamento sensuale. Di conseguenza, (pur restando però certo del proprio buon diritto) può riconoscere, in modo autocritico, la vera causa della furiosa lotta fra lui e i Gesuiti che consiste nella poco cristiana, spasmodica ricerca di maggiore onore che anima i rapporti sociali e naturali di quel periodo.

In conclusione, pur servendosi di un'organizzazione del pensiero tanto bizzarra, l'autore redige con perfetta coerenza un'efficacissima precettistica per la burocrazia del nuovo Stato assoluto e centralizzato, di modo che il suo testo, concepito con finalità edificanti, riveste oggi un alto interesse antropologico e politologico.

Francesco Donnini was a research assistant at the University of Florence when he became a fellow at the Library in the fall of 1982. Currently Dr. Donnini is a professor of Italian, History, and Geography in the secondary school of Greve (Florence).



I. a Palom. sculp. Reg. M. d. d.

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.
*Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo,
y venerable siervo de Dios don Juan
de Palafox y Mendoza*

(Madrid, 1762)

by FRANCESCO DONNINI

DURING MY STAY in Providence in 1982, I devoted much time to the beautiful edition of Juan de Palafox's *Obras* (Madrid, 1762). Bishop Palafox became involved in a series of violent polemics during his stay in Mexico in the years 1640–1649. For a time, he wielded enormous political and religious power, and came into conflict, on the one hand, with the religious Orders—above all with the Jesuits—and, on the other, with Spanish officials who were in the Indies to enrich themselves and then return home (the so-called *gachupin*), and with these officials' Indian functionaries. Palafox identified God's will—and therefore the king's interest—with the interests of the lower secular clergy, and of those Spaniards determined to remain permanently in Mexico to create a new nation (*creoli* or *creoles*).

Most especially, Palafox opposed the Jesuit organization of Indian labor in great missionary plantations (the *riduzioni* or reductions), which, for all intents and purposes, had remained beyond the reach of the state's power. In his estimation, this type of organization contributed to the preservation of a hostile Indian culture and discouraged the replacement of Indian functionaries with the Iberian and hispanizing secular clergy. This, in turn, pre-

vented the hispanization of the Indians and impeded the birth of the new Hispanic-American nation envisioned by the creoles. And yet, the "reductions" helped to launch a vital commerce in the Pacific Ocean, a development which ran counter to the king's desire to keep the colony economically dependent on the Mother Country.

During this controversy, Palafox survived a series of vicious attacks and became the hero of the creoles. His opposition to the Jesuits also pleased the Jansenists, whose theories on divine grace had earned them the Church's condemnation. To this day, the embarrassing support given him by the Jansenists has prevented Palafox's beatification, a step which seemed almost assured, since shortly following his death the ecclesiastical Tribunal had declared him to have been one of the Church's *Venerabili*.

The *Obras* contains a singular autobiography, the *Vida interior*, written by Palafox following his return to Spain. In it, he described his Mexican misadventures as products of divine charity. In fact, Palafox maintained that during his Mexican sojourn, free will constantly menaced his soul's salvation. His misadventures, he thought, were precise divine signals, which helped him not to lose his spiritual direc-

tion. In this intensely personal account, Palafox, puzzled and perplexed, analyzed his own visions and hallucinations, all the while trying to discern their nature by engaging in a complex routine of rituals, and in a series of intense exercises of rationalization. For example, Palafox established a causal connection between his own ambition and sensual enjoyment. As a consequence, he self-critically acknowledged that the true cause of his bitter battle with the Jesuits was the un-Christian and intense search for honor which defined all of the social relations of his time.

In short, notwithstanding his reliance on a peculiar system of thought, and his edifying intentions, Palafox composed a most effective set of precepts intended for the use of the absolute and centralized state's bureaucracy. For this reason, his text holds great interest to anthropologists and to historians of political organization.

Translation by ANTHONY MOLHO

Juan de Abreu de Galindo,
*The history of the discovery and
conquest of the Canary Islands*

(London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1764)

by JOHN E. KICZA

I CAME TO THE John Carter Brown Library to substantiate my ideas about recurrent patterns in Spanish efforts at overseas conquests up to 1600. The chronicles, reports, and memoirs on the great expeditions against the mighty American mainland empires of the Aztecs and Incas are generally available through university libraries. More crucial to my needs was a knowledge of Spanish actions in the Canary and Caribbean islands so that I could see how and to what extent the Spaniards translated to the American mainland crucial aspects of their organization and operation of military campaigns in Iberia itself against the Islamic Moors—a warfare that ended only in 1492. It is commonly assumed and stated in Latin American history that the Spaniards transferred the typical Reconquest practice of organizing campaigns privately and locally to the American mainland. However, the process by which they did so as they moved overseas against their first non-Western opponents had not been scrutinized.

Great then was my joy when, soon after my arrival at the JCB, I discovered Juan de Abreu de Galindo, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands* (1632), trans. by George Glas, London, 1764. This is a reliable translation of an early Spanish history of that country's activities in the Canary Islands from its initial voyages through the final conquest of the last of the islands in the 1490s, exactly

as Spain was reaching the Americas. It made clear the country's gradual increase in interest in these islands off the coast of Africa and the crown's reluctance and inability to itself mount a concerted campaign of subjugation. Instead, private individuals were given concessions to undertake these endeavors, and they organized and financed their expeditions in the same fashion as their predecessors had done during the Reconquest, with heavy use of company agreements. Their conduct of warfare was likewise similar, as was their distribution of rewards on a share basis to all active participants. The leader of the expedition petitioned the crown for exactly the sorts of honors as had the leaders of campaigns in Iberia.

Further, these endeavors were organized in southern Spain, particularly around Seville, as soon would be Spanish efforts in the Caribbean. The organizers utilized similar methods of supplying and financing the operations, even sometimes turning to the same individuals and trading firms. Similar types of individuals joined the expeditions under the same terms and commitments.

John Kicza was a Library fellow in 1989. At the time of his application he was an associate professor at Washington State University, Pullman, where he continues to teach in the Department of History.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
D I S C O V E R Y and C O N Q U E S T
O F T H E
C A N A R Y I S L A N D S :

Translated from a SPANISH MANUSCRIPT, lately found
in the Island of PALMA.

W I T H A N
E N Q U I R Y into the O R I G I N of the A N C I E N T I N H A B I T A N T S.

To which is added,

A Description of the C A N A R Y I S L A N D S,

I N C L U D I N G

The M O D E R N H I S T O R Y of the I N H A B I T A N T S,
And an Account of their M A N N E R S, C U S T O M S, T R A D E, &c.

By G E O R G E G L A S.

L O N D O N,
Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall; and T. DURHAM, in the Strand.
MDCCLXIV.

Robert Rogers.
Ponteach: or The savages of America. A tragedy

(London: For the author, 1766)

by MICHAEL J. MULLIN

ONE OF THE SMALL gems found in the JCB collection is Robert Rogers's play *Ponteach: Or the Savages of America. A Tragedy*. Published in London in 1766, this play captures the typical sentiments of English colonial traders and settlers toward the Indians. The traders' discussions about cheating and killing the Indians illustrate the problems British officials encountered while trying to implement regulations designed to end the abuses associated with the Indian trade. The play influenced my research in four areas: the morality of those involved in the trade, the question of how traders conducted their business, the ethnic background of the traders, and finally the role of violence in the fur trade.

My interest in the play was concentrated on the first two acts. Act one focuses on a conversation between two Indian traders, McDole and Murphey, who discuss the art of the Indian trade. Their goal is to maximize profit. Murphey, new to the trade, is idealistic and naive. McDole, a veteran, sets Murphey straight. Their conversation raises serious moral questions. McDole claims "it's no crime to cheat and gull an Indian."

He does this by using unbalanced scales, alcohol, and sleights of hand. When Murphey sees the profits McDole rakes in through his machinations, Murphey's moral certitude disappears. Rogers's play challenges any romantic view of the Indian trader one may have. Murphey and McDole are economic men driven by a desire to secure wealth at the expense of others.


The play also mentions the goods an Indian trader needed to conduct business. Traders like McDole regularly used alcohol in the exchange. Indian complaints about the role of rum in trade are common in the documents. What makes Rogers's play different from the colonial records is that he shows the traders in their element. His characters water the rum and rationalize this form of cheating. The reader sees the results of such actions. The play gives the reader a behind the scene look at the Indian trade.

The play does more than raise questions about the morality of those involved in the Indian trade and describe how the business was conducted. Even the characters' names carry important information. Many of those involved in Anglo-Indian relations came from a region in Ireland known as "the pale." Two real-life participants during the period in question were William Johnson and George Croghan. McDole and Murphey are other names

Michael Mullin was a Library fellow in the spring of 1988, at which time he was a Ph. D. candidate and teaching fellow at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Dr. Mullin is currently an associate professor in the Department of History at Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

from the region. By using names from this region, the author gave his play the authenticity of an eye-witness. The characters names, their actions and attitudes, suggest that the author of the play knew the fur trade from experience.

The opening of the second act begins with two colonists killing an Indian hunter and stealing his pelts. Colonial documents suggest this type of event occurred more often than one would like to believe. Again, Rogers's play gives us insights into the rationale of the murders. The result is an introduction to the less savory aspects of the fur trade. While not a unique contribution, the play complements the complaints found in the colonial documents, and the analyses presented in the secondary sources. The play breathes life into the problems besetting Anglo-Indian relations in the eighteenth century. Robert Rogers *Ponteach: Or the Savages of America. A Tragedy*, provided me with an unusual avenue for understanding Anglo-Indian relations in the eighteenth century.



JOHN CARTER BROWN

PONT EACH:

OR THE

Savages of America.

A C T I.

S C E N E I.

An Indian Trading House.

Enter M'Dole and Murphey, Two Indian Traders, and their Servants.

M'Dole.

SO, *Murphey*, you are come to try your Fortune Among the Savages in this wild Defart ?

Murphey. Ay, any Thing to get an honest [Living,

Which 'faith I find it hard enough to do ;
Times are so dull, and Traders are so plenty,
That Gains are small, and Profits come but flow.

A 3 *M'Dole.*

Sir William Blackstone.
*Commentaries on the laws of
England in four books*

(Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1771-72)

by ALEXANDER A. SERGOUNIN

THIS BOOK WAS OF paramount importance for my research on the British roots of the American presidency. One of my objectives was to identify thinkers who influenced the Founding Fathers' model of executive power. I found out that a number of figures were important: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Algernon Sidney, James Harrington, the Scot, David Hume, Thomas Paine, etc. However, when I discovered the *Commentaries* I became convinced that Sir William Blackstone was a key influence on the American idea of a chief magistrate.

Blackstone's *Commentaries* were published in England in 1765 and reprinted in pre-revolutionary America in 1771-72. I realized that the book was, in fact, a remarkable vehicle for delivering British common law and polity to America. For the Founding Fathers it was a convincing argument in favor of such concepts as mixed government, separation of powers, checks and balances, and design of a strong executive. Remarkably, both competing parties—Federalists and Anti-Federalists—used the *Commentaries* in their argumentation pro and contra the new Constitution during the ratification campaign.

I was especially impressed by how Blackstone's model of the executive was extensively borrowed by Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, Charles Pinckney, and James Wilson, who each played crucial roles in designing the American presidency. Many scholars have mentioned Blackstone's impact on the framers of the American Constitution in a general sense.

However, few historians have paid attention to the *Commentaries*' role in the creation of the American presidency. It was my own "small discovery" made during my stay at the JCB.

First of all, the Founding Fathers used Blackstone's idea of the compact between the king and the people to justify the American revolt against the British crown, a contract that the Americans felt the king had violated. At the same time they believed such a contract should be a cornerstone of a new American polity. Second, the Founding Fathers referred to the *Commentaries* to explain the need for a strong magistrate to fulfill a number of important functions: the execution of laws; the maintenance of order and stability in society; the preservation of unity among the subjects of the state; the protection of the people from domestic and foreign enemies; securing the balance between the branches of government; the conduct of foreign relations, etc. Third, the Founding Fathers tended to design the president's powers in a way close to Blackstone's description of the British king's powers.

Also it is important to say that even after two and a half centuries Blackstone's *Commentaries* is still a perfect argument in favor of balanced government. The fundamental principles defended by the author are especially relevant now for many post-Communist countries going through a period of transition and rapid changes.

Alexander Sergounin was a Barbara S. Mosbacher fellow at the Library in the fall of 1993. At the time of his application he was an associate professor of world history in the Department of Modern and Current History at the University of Nizhny Novgorod, Russia. He is presently head of the Department of Political Science at the same university.

COMMENTARIES

ON THE

L A W S

OF

E N G L A N D.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, KNT.

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S JUDGES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

RE-PRINTED FROM THE BRITISH COPY,
PAGE FOR PAGE WITH THE LAST EDITION.

A M E R I C A:

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS,

By ROBERT BELL, at the late UNION LIBRARY, in *Third-street*,
PHILADELPHIA. MDCC LXXI.

*The tea-tax tempest, or the
Anglo-American Revolution*

(1774?)

by BRUCE P. LENMAN

THIS FAMOUS ENGRAVING first came to my attention as late as 1984 when I held a JCB Fellowship in the fall of a year in which I had published the second of two substantial monographs on the Jacobite risings in Scotland on behalf of the exiled Stuart dynasty. Originally trained as an imperial historian, my earliest published article had been on British colonial wars in 18th-century India. The publication of my book on *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689–1746* (London, 1980), proved something of a self-perpetuating trap, for its relative success generated pressure for more of the same, in a field where I do not wish to spend the rest of my life. To escape this fate, I concluded the next Jacobite book, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen* (London, 1984), with a chapter called “The Way Back—From Culloden to Yorktown,” which dealt with the employment of Scottish Highland regiments in colonial America. This was meant to be a bridge back to colonial history.

There are several versions of this engraving. The British Library has one, as has the Library of Congress, whose 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ " version is the one usually cited and reproduced. The print is an adaptation in reverse of a satiric print of 1774 by John Dixon called “The Oracle,” which features three female allegorical figures symbolizing Britannia, Hibernia, and Scotia. “The Tea-Tax Tempest” replaces these with females representing Europe, Asia, and Africa, and represents Father Time in up-to-date mode projecting an allegory of the American Revolution on a curtain in the shape of a teapot exploding over a fire of stamped documents. Out shoot a liberty cap and a serpent. America, in Indian

mode, advances, redcoats flee. The print reflects the publication of news of the Boston Tea Party in the *London Evening Post* of January 20, 1774.

I referred to the print in an article on which I was working concerning “Trade and Territory: The Rise of Imperial Britain 1603–1763,” which was first a part of a London Week-End Television historical series, and was then printed in the book of the series, *The Making of Britain: The Age of Expansion*, ed. Lesley M. Smith (London, 1986). That was the start of my return to the imperial fold.

Yet the print keeps coming back to haunt me. After being Harrison Visiting Professor at the College of William and Mary in 1988–89, I started writing articles for *Colonial Williamsburg* journal, originally on fellow-Scots like Alexander Spotswood, lieutenant-governor of Virginia 1710–1722, but then broadening out through colonial Freemasonry to a piece for that journal on the Chesapeake equivalent of the Boston Tea Party, which occurred off Yorktown a year later. I use “The Tea-Tax Tempest” as an illustration in this article. Over the years I have learned to read more of its iconography. For example, the snake is the rattlesnake, a symbol of both the string of rebelling colonies, and, with the motto “Don’t Tread on Me,” of their resolution to defend their rights. John Paul Jones, as a captain in the infant Continental Navy bore motto and snake on his epaulette and buttons. The *Colonial Williamsburg* journal article includes not just the print, but the JCB’s version, which is uniquely and splendidly tinted. To the fascination of a complex image from a great collection like the JCB there is no end.

Bruce Lenman was a fellow at the Library in the fall of 1984. At the time of his application he was a professor of modern history at the University of St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, where he continues to teach.



*The Tea-Tax-Storm, or
 Engewitter entstanden durch die
 Orage causé par l'Impôt*



*the Anglo-American Revolution.
 Unstige auf den T. in Amerika.
 sur le Thé en Amérique*

Great Britain.

Convention between His Britannick

*Majesty and the King of Spain, Signed at
London, the 14th of July, 1786*

(London: T. Harrison & S. Brooke, 1786)

by ROGER J. B. KNIGHT

I CAME ACROSS THIS two-page document halfway through my stay at the JCB. I was working on the Atlantic economies in the period after the American Revolution as essential background to my central topic, which is the remarkable European-wide naval shipbuilding race which took place in the 1780s, and its impact on the world-wide supply of timber which it consumed.

In spite of the reversal of British fortunes in the Revolutionary war, the maritime strength of the country was still as great as ever. From the end of the war in 1783, British loggers had penetrated the Mosquito coast in central America to cut mahogany and logwood. This minor treaty represented Spain's efforts to try to prevent further damage to her empire. I would not normally check what looked like diplomatic material, but a JCB fellowship gives you the luxury of time. The short document was to start a new train of thought.

From the Spanish point of view, the Convention starts off in fine style and absolute terms. The British were to evacuate the Mosquito coast, "as well as the Continent in general, and the Islands adjacent, without Exception, situated beyond the Line hereinafter described." But the rest of the agreement is shot through with every sort of qualification which shows how weak the Spanish position was. The line in question was redrawn from its 1783 position much more generously for the British, and they could occupy and colonise St. George's Key, off present-day Belize; while the cutting of mahogany was

prohibited, logwood was allowed, valued for its hardness and for the production of dye; saw mills were also allowed, as was the transporting of timber down rivers; merchant ships could be refitted, but not warships, nor was there to be planting of crops.

How could a weak Spain possibly hope to enforce the complexities of this agreement? Of course, the country had been on the defensive since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when in the Treaty of Utrecht they had had to transfer the "asiento" privilege to British merchants. But for me this document was a direct reminder of how vast and important the Spanish empire was in the late eighteenth century, how meager were resources to defend it, how much the British wanted it, and how little I knew about it. The maps which I then consulted in detail showed how much smaller and less rich were British, French, and Dutch territories in this part of the world.

An obvious point, you might say, but not as obvious as it might be to a British historian brought up in the Anglo-American tradition, which tends not to have as much contact as it should with Hispanic specialists. Not so at the JCB, where the collections attract both Anglocentric and Spanish scholars. If I brought away a new perspective from the JCB, it was that it was not enough to see the naval conflict and mercantile competition at the end of the eighteenth century as between Britain and France, with Spain as an add-on; the whole picture was different.

Roger J. B. Knight was an Alexander O. Viator Memorial fellow in the spring of 1993. At the time of his application he was Chief Curator of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London, England, where he is presently Deputy Director.



CONVENTION between His *Britannick* Majesty
and the King of *Spain*. Signed at *London*,
the 14th of *July*, 1786.

L ES Rois d'*Angleterre* et d'*Espagne*, animés du même Desir de raffermir, par tous les Moyens qui sont dans leur Pouvoir, l'Amitié qui heureusement subsiste entre eux et leurs Royaumes, et souhaitant, d'un commun Accord, de prévenir jusqu'à l'Ombre de Méintelligence, qui pourroit être occasionnée par des Doutes, des Malentendus, ou d'autres Motifs de Disputes entre les Sujets des Frontières des deux Monarchies, surtout dans des Pays éloignés, comme ceux de l'*Amerique*, ont jugé à propos d'établir, de la meilleure Foi possible, par une nouvelle Convention, les Points

T HE Kings of England and of Spain, animated with the same Desire of consolidating, by every Means in their Power, the Friendship so happily subsisting between them and their Kingdoms, and wishing, with one Accord, to prevent even the Shadow of Misunderstanding which might be occasioned by Doubts, Misconceptions, or other Causes of Disputes between the Subjects on the Frontiers of the two Monarchies, especially in distant Countries, as are those in *America*, have thought proper to settle, with all possible good Faith, by a new Convention, the Points which might one Day or other
be

Worcester Magazine

(Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1786–1788)

by GEORGE E. CONNOR

THE HISTORICAL RECORD of late eighteenth-century America is available from a variety of primary and secondary sources. What is oftentimes missing from this record is the subtle shading or color that makes the historical material worth examining. For my dissertation research on Shays' Rebellion, this color was provided by Isaiah Thomas's *Worcester Magazine*. For evidence of this color, one need look no farther than Thomas's cast of pseudonymous authors. They range from the noble Justitia to the plebian A Yeoman. In between, Thomas finds room for those with less subtle pseudonyms, such as Paper Money, and the most recognizable symbol of the day, Tom the Tinker. By the name and the content of their writing, each author provides an insightful glimpse into the people and events surrounding the rebellion. In other words, the *Worcester Magazine* breathed life into the historical record.

Along with this color, the *Worcester Magazine* enabled me to test a contemporary hypothesis with historical data. It afforded solid historical evidence for my Watts Riots-based hypothesis that Shays' Rebellion was the result of a breakdown of grievance redress mechanisms. For example, from an Answer of the Town of Greenwich: "We mean not to say that they are the proper means but perhaps they are

the only means to convince that we need redress." This does not mean that the breakdown of grievance redress mechanisms was necessarily an acceptable justification for the rebellion. Judge Cushing's charge to the Middlesex grand jury asserted that: "No pretention of reforming the laws, or removing grievances can be of any avail in excuses."

The fact that Thomas included both sides in this and other testimony, and in his reporting of convention proceedings and protests against these proceedings, tells us a great deal about the editorial character that sets him apart from the more partisan editors of the day. After earlier establishing the *Massachusetts Spy* as an impartial paper, Thomas "reluctantly converted the *Spy* into a stridently one-sided organ of opinion" in the interest of the American Revolution. Thomas then decried the role of printers in revolutionary Boston because "he must be either of one party or the other (he cannot please both)" (Botein, 1980). By 1786, however, Thomas had abandoned Boston for Worcester and the partisan role for editorial integrity, as evidenced by his reporting on Shays' Rebellion. So while my utilization of the *Worcester Magazine* provided both historical data and color, it also provided insight into the career of Isaiah Thomas, founder of the American Antiquarian Society.

In 1988, at the time of his fellowship at the Library, George Connor was a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Houston, Texas. He is presently an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Southwest Missouri State University in Springfield, Missouri.

THE
Worcester Magazine.

NUMBER IX.

For the *First* Week in JUNE, 1786.

WORCESTER, (*Massachusetts*) Printed by I. THOMAS, by whom Subscriptions, Essays, &c. &c. for this Work are taken in.

[Price SIX PENCE Single.]

** * The Editor returns his unfeigned thanks to a number of Gentlemen, in various parts of this Commonwealth, who within a few weeks past have added their names to the list of subscribers for this work. Whilst he regrets the existence of an Act, which eventually obliged him to quit the publication of the Massachusetts Spy, he is happy to find the Worcester Magazine so generally approved of, and should the publication of it be continued, it is the intention of the Editor to enlarge and improve it in the course of a few months.*

B O O K S.

The following very valuable BOOKS, among a great variety of others, are to be SOLD by
ISAIAH THOMAS, in Worcester,

—V I Z.—

ELEGANT Folio Pulpit and Family Bibles, with and without Cuts, which will be sold cheaper than they can be purchased in this Commonwealth.

Henry's Annotations, complete in 5 Vols. Folio. English Edition.

Johnson's English Dictionary, complete in 2 elegant large folio Vols. last Edition.

Van Swieten's Commentaries on Boerhaave, 18 Vols.

Swift's Works, complete in 27 Vols.

Reports of the Secret Committee on East-India Affairs, proper for the perusal of Gentlemen who wish to be interested in the trade of that country. Lately published in London, 4 Vols. folio, in boards.

Blackstone's Commentaries, last London Edition, 4 Vols.

Burn's Justice of the Peace, last London Edition, 4 Vols.

History of the Reign of George the Third, 2 Vols.

Watson's (Lord Bishop of Landaff) Chemical Essays. A new Work, justly celebrated and admired, 3 Vols, &c. &c. &c.

WE the Subscribers being appointed Commissioners by the Honourable Judge of Probate, for the County of Hampshire, to receive and examine the claims of the several creditors to the estate of **REHAM BANCROFT**, late of Warwick, deceased, represented insolvent; and three Months being allowed for the creditors to bring in, and prove their claims: This is to give notice, that we shall attend that service, at the house of Doctor Medad Pomeroy, in said Warwick, on the last Tuesdays of this, and the two next following Months, from two to six o'clock, P. M. on each of said days.

Warwick, May 8th, 1786.

JOSEPH METCALF, } Commis-
MEDAD POMEROY. } sioners.

Tanned Lamb and Sheep Skins.

A LARGE quantity of Sheep and Lamb SKINS, dressed clean and thin, without Oil, fit for Book-binding, are wanted. Enquire at the Printing-Office in Worcester.

Olaudah Equiano.
*The interesting narrative of the life of
Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa,
the African. Written by himself*

(London: Printed for, and sold by the author, 1789)

by VINCENT CARRETTA

SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY, captivity narrative, travel book, adventure tale, slavery narrative, economic treatise, apologia, and argument against the African slave trade, Equiano's *Narrative* was the longest (360 pages) and most significant published work produced by a person of African descent during the eighteenth century. The author supervised the publication and distribution of nine British editions between 1789 and 1794, and during his lifetime (1745–1797) unauthorized editions and translations appeared in Holland (1790), New York (1791), Germany (1792), and Russia (1794). Part of the book's great popularity can be attributed to the timing of its initial publication at the height of the movement in Britain to abolish the slave trade. Equiano's was the only account of slavery in Africa written by a former slave, and he describes as well the Middle Passage, and his experience in the West Indies, North America, and Britain. His first reviewers quickly acknowledged the significance of the *Narrative*.

The literary and historical value of Equiano's *Narrative* transcends the immediate occasion of its first publication. Born in 1745 in what is now southeastern Nigeria, and kidnapped into slavery at the age of eleven, Equiano was taken to the West Indies for a few days before being brought to Virginia, where he was sold to a local planter. He was soon bought by Michael Henry Pascal, an officer in the British Royal Navy, who renamed him Gustavus Vassa and brought him to London.

Equiano served under Pascal in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but Pascal reneged on his promise of freedom, selling Equiano into West Indian slavery at the end of 1762. Fortunately, Equiano was able to purchase his own freedom in 1766.

As a free man, he remained in the employ of his former master, the Quaker Robert King, for a year, making several trading trips to Georgia and Pennsylvania. Between 1767 and 1773, Equiano, based in London, worked on commercial vessels sailing to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. After joining an expedition to the Arctic seeking a Northeast Passage in 1773, he returned to London, where he embraced Methodism. Soon again growing restless, in 1775–1776 he helped his friend and former employer, Dr. Charles Irving, in a short-lived attempt to establish a plantation in Central America, with Equiano acting as buyer and driver (overseer) of the Black slaves. Back in London in 1777, he became increasingly involved with efforts to help his fellow Blacks, with the project to resettle the Black poor in Sierra Leone, and with the drive to abolish the African slave trade.

The John Carter Brown Library has copies of the first and eighth British, as well as the New York, editions of the *Narrative*. Seeing the first edition at the JCB prompted my interest in working on the text, which directly led to the publication of my edition of *Olaudah Equiano's The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (Penguin, 1995).

Vincent Carretta was a fellow at the Library in the fall of 1984. At the time of his application he was an assistant professor in the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Maryland at College Park where he continues to teach, now as a full professor.



Charitable Equiano;
OF
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
the African.

Published March 1. 1789 by G. Vassa

Méderic-Louis-Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry.
Danse

(Philadelphia, 1796)

by EDWARD WIDMER

ONE OF THE MORE eccentric JCB titles is a short work by Méderic-Louis-Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry (1750–1819) entitled, simply and provocatively, *Danse*. Like dancing itself, the book is confusing, yet enjoyable when you stop trying too hard to analyze it. The dizziness sets in with the title page. Although Moreau de Saint-Méry was French (more specifically, Franco-Martiniquais-Haitian), the tract was published in Philadelphia where Moreau fled in the aftermath of the French and Haitian revolutions. He had narrowly escaped Robespierre two years earlier, and the printing shop he established in Philadelphia quickly became an important salon for expatriates (including Talleyrand, Volney, and Louis-Philippe, the future King of France). A French book published in the United States (and during a period of acute Francophobia), *Danse* instantly arouses curiosity. It is also compelling for our knowledge that Moreau de Saint-Méry was expelled by John Adams under the Alien Act two years later. Finally, it is quite rare, especially in this first edition (it was reissued at Parma five years later).

The mysteries of the book deepen upon perusal. First, it claims to be part of a larger work, never written. Moreau de Saint-Méry did write prolifically on the Saint-Domingue colony, but he never ventured again into dancing. He wrote it in 1789, the year the French Revolution broke out, but never explains why it took seven years to publish. Very likely the Revolution got in the way (he received the keys to the Bastille from the mob that stormed it.)

Danse opens with a general discussion of the subject, but moves quickly to its real strength: African-American culture. Unapologetic and fascinated, Moreau is way ahead of most Anglo-Saxon commentators, admiring black dances for their rhythmic excellence, diversity, and even their political power, mentioning several that were outlawed in Saint-Domingue for the excess excitement they generated. The list of arresting dances includes the Don Pedro, the Voodoo, the Chica, and my favorite, the Congo Minuet. A heated description concludes, "What a bizarre being is man! In such excess does he search for pleasure!"

Almost a century later, the timelessness of *Danse* was obvious to Lafcadio Hearn and George Washington Cable as they began to explore the possibilities of black music, laying the groundwork for white America's embrace of jazz, rhythm and blues, and rock and roll. So in a very roundabout way, this obscure little book is still with us. It is brief, digressive, and peculiar, yet it remains relevant for the light it sheds on racial and musical harmony (sometimes the same thing). Had Dick Clark been alive in 1796 (a distinct possibility), he'd have recognized this book as an important precursor to American Bandstand.

Edward Widmer was a lecturer in the Department of History and Literature at Harvard University when he became a Library fellow in 1994, and he continues to teach at Harvard.

D A N S E.

A R T I C L E

EXTRAIT D'UN OUVRAGE

DE M. L. E. MOREAU DE ST-MERY.

Ayant pour titre : *Répertoire des Notions
Coloniales.*

Par ordre Alphabétique.

A P H I L A D E L P H I E ,

Imprimé par l' A U T E U R , Imprimeur-
Libraire , au coin de Front & de Walnut
streets , N^o 84.

1796.

John Gabriel Stedman.
*Narrative, of a five years' expedition,
against the revolted Negroes of Surinam*

(London: J. Johnson, 1796)

by MORDECHAI ARBELL

FOR MORE THAN 25 YEARS I have been conducting research on the first Jewish settlements on the American continent in the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the most important among them was that of Surinam. I have visited modern-day Surinam several times in the course of this research seeking sources. For written material—very scarce—I had to rely on official governmental archives, Jewish community records, history books written from the 18th century through today, and gravestone inscriptions. What I lacked was a real description of everyday life, how things looked on this isolated tropical Dutch colony.

The Stedman book *Five years' expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam*, found in the John Carter Brown Library, was what I was looking for, and as an added bonus, it enabled me to correct mistakes committed by historians who did not have Stedman's work in hand.

Stedman served in Surinam (1773–1778) as an officer of the Scots Brigade which was part of the Dutch army. His main activity was guerrilla warfare against the “maroons,” known in Surinam as “bush Negroes”—escaped slaves who formed marauding bands, attacking plantations and outposts.

With Stedman's descriptions, I could enter plantations deep in the jungle, where food was served on “plate and china of the newest fashion and most exquisite workmanship.” I could stroll the streets of Paramaribo, “a very lively place, the streets crowded with planters, sailors, soldiers, Jews, Indians and Negroes, while the river covered with canoes and barges constantly passing and repassing,” and see the dress of the inhabitants—“silk embroidery, Genoa velvets, diamonds, gold and silver lace . . . buttons and buckles of solid gold.” (A map of Paramaribo made by Stedman is also found there.)

The description I was seeking of Jewish life told me that “the Jews Savannah . . . is distant from the town . . . by water above sixty miles. Here the Jews have a beautiful synagogue and keep their solemn fasts and festivals; here they also have their capital schools and seminaries, for at this village reside some very respectable Jewish families . . . with rights and privileges I never knew Jews to possess in any other part of the world.” (He adds a painting of the settlement.)

His attitude to his official enemies, the maroons, is surprising: “Cruelty and ill treatment had driven these poor creatures to extremities. . . . Why is it necessary to inflict such inhuman tortures, according to the humour and caprice of an unfeeling master?” Stedman's descriptions are vivid: “Miss Sp. . . n who lived next door, who I saw with horror from my window give orders that a young black woman should be flogged principally across the breasts, at which she seemed to enjoy peculiar satisfaction.”

Mordechai Arbell was a Touro National Heritage Trust Fellow at the Library in the fall of 1993. At the time of his appointment he was a research fellow at the Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East at Hebrew University in Israel. Following a career as both scholar and diplomat, Mr. Arbell is an advisor to the World Jewish Congress in Jerusalem.

Stedman's book helped me clarify, as I have said, some errors of earlier historians. With the French occupation of Cayenne in 1664, a Dutch newspaper wrote that the Jews were taken from their village, Remire, to La Rochelle, from where they had to trek to their homeland. Many theories were based on the idea that the Jews had been taken to France whence they had to trek to the Netherlands. We learn the actual facts from Stedman's mentioning a military outpost in Surinam called La Rochelle—"a Jew soldier of the Society post La Rochelle," or, "During all this time strong patrols cruised between Magdenburg, La Rochelle and the Jew's Savannah." In the map he drew, Stedman places La Rochelle near the border of French Guyana and Surinam. From there it is logical that the Jews trekked to the Jew's Savannah, and not elsewhere.

From the descriptions of wild life, plants, and battles coupled with everyday life, a researcher of Surinam can find information not usually found in history books. A final point, the book revealed to me one of the reasons for the agricultural success of the Jewish settlement in Surinam—"Water . . . accounted as most excellent, and is brought by the sailors from as far as Jew Savannah, which is above sixty miles from the town of Paramaribo."

Stedman's work, along with other books, narratives, diaries, and pamphlets found in the John Carter Brown Library, enabled me to put the finishing touches to my research.



View of the Settlement called the Jew's Savannah.



View of the Blue Bergh called Mount Parnassus.

London, Published Dec^r 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

Juan Antonio González Cañaveras.
Planisferio ó Carta General de la Tierra

(Madrid, 1800)

by W. MICHAEL MATHES

AMONG THE MOST curious printed maps ever produced is the *Planisferio ó Carta General de la Tierra* designed by Juan Antonio González Cañaveras, a widely published professor of geography from Cádiz and treasurer of the Spanish royal palaces of San Ildefonso, Balsaín, and Río Frío. The map was drawn by González Cañaveras's son, Francisco de Paula, and engraved by the famed Valencian José Antonio Ximeno y Carrera, one of the greatest engravers of his time. Printed by Benito Cano on twelve sheets in Madrid in 1800, when assembled this magnificent map forms a square of 1.52 by 1.43 meters.

Immediately notable on the planisphere are two features, one anachronistic and the other technically modern. Extensive maritime exploration and charting of the northwest coast of North America in the final quarter of the eighteenth century notwithstanding, the map retains the mid-century imaginary delineations based by French cartographers Philippe Buache and Joseph Nicolas de l'Isle upon the apocryphal voyage of the nonexistent Admiral Bartolomé Fonte. More instantly notable is the unusual projection which produces narrow, elongated continental land forms and horizontally exaggerated polar regions, with parallel meridians, equal-area, full symmetry, centered on the Pacific Ocean rather than on the Atlantic.

Similar to the contemporary projections employed by Arno Peters, the 1855 Orthographic projection of James Gall, and the 1910 Cylindrical Equal-Area projection of Walter Behrmann, González Cañaveras' projection was extraordinary for its time, preceded only by that developed by Johann Heinrich Lambert of Alasace in 1772. Use of this projection type is very limited and of little value in providing a true image of the earth. However, such was not the intent of González Cañaveras whose thirty years of devotion to teaching and the publication of didactic treatises motivated production of a beautiful and instructive map.

As explained in the extensive text of the cartouche, González Cañaveras sought to produce a map that would permit the user to determine the time, sunrise, sunset, hours of daylight, seasons, and meteorological trends of any given area of the globe on any date; instructions for usage of the map appeared in an accompanying pamphlet bearing the same title as the map.

González Cañaveras and his planisphere are unrecorded by historians of cartography. Probably due to its size, the map is excessively rare, and, apart from the John Carter Brown copy, the only other known example is in the Archivo Histórico de Zacatecas in Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Although the British Library catalogues the accompanying pamphlet, it cannot be located, and the only extant copy is in the Sutro Library, San Francisco.

W. Michael Mathes was a Library fellow in 1988. At the time of his application he was a professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is currently professor emeritus, library director of El Colegio de Jalisco, and researcher in the Universidad de Guadalajara.



Manoel Ayres de Cazal.
*Corografia brasileira, ou Relação
historico-geografica do reino do Brazil*

(Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Regia, 1817)

by SHAWN W. MILLER

FOR PREVIOUS GENERATIONS of historians, geography played a significant role in the interpretation of history. Ninety years ago or more, one might have been surprised to discover a general national survey that did not introduce its subject with an ample geographical treatise.

In my attempt to compare the relative successes of the colonial timber economies of North America and Brazil, geography has once again come to the fore. There has long been in Brazilian historiography the misconception that Brazil has been blessed, among many other things, with an abundance of ports and navigable rivers, which are crucial elements in any type of trade but especially so for commodities of high bulk and low value such as timber. This error has been in no small part based on the fact that Brazil's 4,600 mile coastline was endowed at creation with the world's most voluminous river and two of its most commodious ports, those of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro.

Brazil's greatest geographical work, however, *Corografia brasileira*, reminds us that with the exception of these shining examples, safe havens and navigable rivers were unfortunately few and far between. Published in two volumes by the royal press in the year 1817, the *Côrografia* was Manoel Ayres de Cazal's ambitious attempt to describe systematically the Kingdom of Brazil in every economic and geographical detail, settlement by settlement. In large part he succeeded. There is no better reference for Brazil's colonial geography, or for a summary of each

comarca's flora, fauna, and early 19th-century trade. It is also of note that after 317 years of archival obscurity, the letter of Pedro Vaz de Caminha, chronicler of the discovery of Brazil, was first published in the *Corografia's* opening pages.

Of particular relevance to my work, Ayres de Cazal described most of the colony's ports and rivers, with details about soundings, anchorage, and navigability. Notably, in Brazil's most important ship timber producing areas, southern Bahia and Alagoas, the dearth of ports and rivers is particularly acute.

Studied in isolation, Brazil's ports and rivers have appeared sufficient to profuse. But when compared to the coastlines of other regions, excepting that of the west coast of Africa with which it may have one time been joined, Brazil's facilities for marine harbors and riverine transport were rather meager. It is probably not an exaggeration to assert that in the colonial era there was more anchorage in New England than in all of Brazil south of Pára. And south of the incomparable Amazon, Brazil has no river, excepting the São Francisco, comparable to the St. Lawrence, Connecticut, Hudson or even Penobscot, as the *Corografia* illustrates.

Shawn Miller was a fellow at the Library in the summer of 1995. His fellowship was supported by the Center for New World Comparative Studies. At the time of his application he was a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of History at Columbia University where he expects to complete work for his degree in 1996.

COROGRAFIA BRAZILICA,
OU
RELAÇÃO HISTORICO-GEOGRAFICA
DO
REINO DO BRAZIL
COMPOSTA E DEDICADA
A
SUA Magestade
FIDELISSIMA
POR
HUM PRESBITERO SECULAR
DO
GRAM PRIORADO DO CRATO.
TOM. I.



RIO DE JANEIRO.
NA IMPRESSÃO REGIA.
M. DCCC. XVII.

Com Licença e Privilegio Real.

La justicia en defensa de la verdad

(Santiago, Chile: Imprenta del Estado, 1817)

by MARIA LIGIA COELHO PRADO

PROCURAVA, NA J.C.B., materiais para minha pesquisa sobre as universidades na América Latina Colonial, quando encontrei uma coleção de panfletos aparecidos no Chile, durante o período das lutas por sua independência política. Estava procurando alguma referência sobre a posição da Universidad de San Felipe diante do movimento rebelde. Não achei o que procurava. Entretanto, os panfletos eram tão interessantes e inesperados que acabei copiando na íntegra alguns deles.

Algum tempo mais tarde, decidi escrever um artigo sobre a participação das mulheres nas lutas pela independência da América Latina. Buscava elementos para provar que tal participação fora mais intensa e efetiva do que a historiografia tem registrado. Encontrei fontes para mostrar que a mulher, além de enfermeira, foi financiadora da luta, mensageira e soldado.

Nesse momento, os panfletos chilenos ganharam um lugar central para minha argumentação, pois havia uma série de três escritos, de 1817, que apresentavam um diálogo entre dois irmãos e uma irmã, Rosa, Clarideo e Paulino. No primeiro, Clarideo, utilizando-se de argumentos liberais, convencia Rosa da necessidade da independência. Ela, realista, estava ameaçada com os castigos que a religião lhe prometia—excomunhão, inferno—caso abraçasse as novas idéias. Porém Clarideo a persuadiu dos males causados pela Igreja ligada à opressão dos espanhóis. Rosa, enfim, cedeu, afirmando estar agora ao lado do irmão. Em outro panfleto, o diálogo

se passa entre Paulino e Rosa, abordando o tema mais complexo da necessidade da violência, para se alcançar a liberdade. Mais uma vez, a irmã foi convencida.

De um lado, aparece o homem, como dono da razão, convencendo a mulher, imersa no mundo dos sentimentos religiosos. Entretanto, por outro, ele lhe conferia uma dimensão mais ampla que a doméstica, interessado que estava em persuadi-la da importância de sua adesão à causa pública da independência.

Desta forma, o material encontrado na J.C.B., na forma de panfletos, constitui-se em elemento chave para a sustentação da principal hipótese do artigo.

Maria Prado was a Tinker Foundation Fellow at the Library for the academic year 1989–90. At the time of her application she was an associate professor of Latin American History at the University of São Paulo where she continues to teach.

LA JUSTICIA en defensa de la verdad.

DIALOGO ENTRE

Clarideo, y Rosa aludiendo al de ésta y Paulino.

CLARIDEO. Habiendo llegado querida Rosa a mis oídos vuestra conversación, la he mirado como el único fruto que debo esperar el pobre Paulino de tu trabajo. ¡Quanto lo compadezco al verlo disputar inutilmente! Nuestros enemigos amiga mía se burlan de nuestros escritos; al paso que siempre que se halla a sus alcances, nos machucan aún misericordia en correspondencia. No es tiempo ya de convencerlos con razones, ni argumentos, y el mejor arbitrio es valernos del azote.

ROSA. Extraño mucho Clarideo vuestro sentir acerca de los discursos de Paulino, pues no dudo que sus concluyentes raciocinios desengañarán a mas de quatro; quando por el contrario sostituyendo a estos medios de suavidad los del rigor y la dureza, el resultado debe ser fatal.

Clar. Hermana mía: un exceso de bondad y sencillez os induce a pensar de ese modo. Mi opinion se funda en la necesidad de adoptarla, despues que una triate experiencia nos ha hecho conocer el caracter de nuestros adversarios. ¿Cres que si se encontrara en ellos un razgo de tu docilidad y buena fé para examinar imparcialmente las poderosas razones que se han alegado en defenza de la justicia americana, me opondria yo a la demostracion de unas verdades, cuyo conocimiento es tan interesante? ¿Ignero, por ventura, que la perfecta union entre los individuos de una sociedad

La justicia en defensa de la verdad

(Santiago, Chile: Imprenta del Estado, 1817)

by MARIA LIGIA COELHO PRADO

AT THE JCB I had been searching for materials to support my research on universities in colonial Latin America when I found a series of pamphlets that had appeared in Chile during the period of struggle for political independence. I had been looking for some reference concerning the University of San Felipe's position with regard to the revolutionary movement. I did not find what I was investigating. The pamphlets, however, were so interesting and unexpected that I ended up copying some of them in full.

Sometime later I decided to write an article about women's participation in the struggle for independence in Latin America [which appeared in *Revista Brasileira de Histórica* under the title "In Search of Women's Participation in the Struggle for Independence in Latin America".] I was looking for indications to prove that this participation had been more intense and effective than that typically recorded. I found sources ascertaining that, beyond serving as nurses, women financed the battles and were messengers as well as soldiers.

At that point, the Chilean pamphlets assumed a central role in my study because there was a series of writings from 1817 that presented a dialogue between two brothers and a sister: Rosa, Clarideo, and Paulino. In the first one, Clarideo uses liberal arguments to convince Rosa of the need for independence. Being realistic, she is frightened by the punishments that religion promised her—excommunication, hell—if she should embrace these new ideas. Clarideo, how-

ever, persuades her of the ills caused by the Church in connection with the oppression by the Spaniards. Rosa finally gives in, thereby affirming her position on her brother's side. In another pamphlet, the dialogue takes place between Paulino and Rosa, relating to the more complex subject of the need for violence in order to achieve freedom. Once again, the sister becomes convinced.

On the one hand, the man appears as master of reason, influencing the woman who is immersed in the world of religious feelings. On the other hand, however, he might be said to bestow upon her a broader dimension beyond that of the domestic sphere, interested as he is in persuading her of the importance of her commitment to the public struggle for independence.

In this manner, the material in the form of pamphlets found at the JCB comprises a key element in the substantiation of the main thesis of my article.

Translation by MARGUERITE I. HARRISON

*Haïti, ou Renseignemens authentiques
sur l'abolition de l'esclavage et ses résultats
à Saint-Domingue et à la Guadeloupe*

(Paris: L. Hachette, 1835)

by JULIE WINCH

JAMAICAN-BORN RICHARD HILL (1795–1870), the child of a black mother and a white father, was a leading figure in British antislavery circles. He and his fellow abolitionists believed that slaves, when freed, would continue to work, but skeptics needed proof. In 1830 Hill agreed to go to the independent black republic of Haiti to investigate the effectiveness of “free labor.” The abolitionist Zachary Macaulay used Hill’s journal to prepare a report, and an enterprising Parisian publisher translated Macaulay’s work into French. The John Carter Brown Library has one of the few surviving copies of this book.

Hill was particularly interested in the hundreds of American blacks who had emigrated to Haiti. Some had settled in Haiti and others in what is now the Dominican Republic. Did these emigrants, Hill wondered, regret their move? With little money or education, how had they fared? What lessons did their experiences hold for Britain’s West Indian colonies?

On his visit Hill met many Americans. He described in detail two communities. He was particularly impressed by the farming collective established by eight families outside Port au Prince, and his respect increased when he heard of the settlers’ early struggles. “Completely without experience as farmers,” they had made costly mistakes at first. In despair, they had left the countryside for the city, but “this imprudent resolution only served to aggravate their distress.” Unemployed, homeless, and hungry, they had decided to try farming again. This time they had

pooled their resources and their labor. Their efforts paid off. “They have pigs, cows and poultry which suffice for their needs,” and they were just about to harvest their first sugar crop [p. 119]. The story was the same at Samana. The settlers there had had their setbacks, but they, too, were prospering.

None regretted “having abandoned a land where the government made their life a constant source of bitterness.” Those who had been slaves told Hill that bondage had meant for them the absence of hope. On Haiti they had hope [p. 120]. Those who had been legally free in the United States had lived in dire poverty. They had left out of “pure necessity” [p. 174]. Now they were self-sufficient farmers.

His observations reassured Hill that black people would work without the threat of the lash. When Britain abolished slavery, he put his faith in free labor to the test, returning to Jamaica and spending the rest of his life defending the rights of the ex-slaves.

In 1993–94 Julie Winch was a National Endowment for the Humanities fellow at the Library. At the time of her appointment she was a professor in the Black Studies Department at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. She now holds a joint appointment in History and Black Studies at the same institution.

9.
HAÏTI,

OU

RENSEIGNEMENS AUTHENTIQUES

SUR

L'ABOLITION DE L'ESCLAVAGE

ET SES RÉSULTATS

A SAINT-DOMINGUE ET A LA GUADELOUPE,

AVEC

DES DÉTAILS SUR L'ÉTAT ACTUEL D'HAÏTI ET DES NOIRS
ÉMANCIPÉS QUI FORMENT SA POPULATION.

TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS.

PARIS.

CHEZ L. HACHETTE,

RUE PIERRE SARRAZIN, N° 42.

1835.

Italy. R. Commissione colombiana.
*Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati
della R. Commissione colombiana, pel quarto
centenario dalla scoperta dell'America*

(Rome: Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 1892-96)

by FOSTER PROVOST

PREPARING *Columbus: an annotated guide to the scholarship on his life and writings, 1750-1988* (1991), which the JCB sponsored as a result of my 1983 fellowship, involved locating and describing significant publications on Columbus since 1750. These publications divide conveniently into four phases, concerned respectively with (1) the unearthing of the relevant written documents of the discovery period; (2) the initial publication of these documents; (3) the critical editing of the documents; and (4) the attempts to define the details of Columbus's life and to resolve the many issues deriving from these various scholarly efforts.

The preparation of the *Guide* did not involve the JCB's early European books on America except as a chief source of fundamental background knowledge. But the library's copy of the famous Italian *Raccolta* of 1892-96—not available in my home city—proved absolutely essential to the project. The first four tomes of the *Raccolta* present what is still the only critical edition, with full apparatus, of all the writings of Columbus known at the time of editing. The remaining tomes supply editions of the other known documents relating to the life of Columbus and to his family, including the *Book of Privileges*, and editions of the Italian sources for the history of the New World, including extensive pertinent European correspondence and 194 fully annotated contemporary

accounts of Columbus and/or the new-found lands. The tomes of the *Raccolta* also provide a copious assortment of scholarly monographs on portraits of Columbus, on his medals, on the construction of seagoing vessels in Columbus's day, on pertinent contemporary maps of the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the world, on Paolo Toscanelli, on Peter Martyr, on Amerigo Vespucci, on John Cabot, on Antonio Pigafetta, and on other pertinent figures; and a monumental bibliography of writings in Italian on Columbus. Finally, they provide a monograph treating compendiously the questions about Columbus that were at issue in the 1890s. No other single publication came close to the *Raccolta* in supplying the information needed to execute *Columbus: an annotated guide to the scholarship on his life and writings, 1750-1988*.

At the time of his fellowship in 1983, Foster Provost, Jr. was a professor in the English Department at Duquesne University. He is currently in active retirement at the same university.

RACCOLTA
DI
DOCUMENTI E STUDI

PUBBLICATI

DALLA

R. COMMISSIONE COLOMBIANA

PEL QUARTO CENTENARIO DALLA SCOPERTA DELL'AMERICA

PARTE I - VOLUME I.



ROMA

AUSPICE IL MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE

M DCCC XCII

Lawrence C. Wroth.
*The way of a ship: an essay on the
literature of navigation science*

(Portland: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1937)

by ROBERT FOULKE

WHILE BROWSING IN THE JCB catalogue, I came upon a loadstone book—one that pointed me in all the right directions for one segment of my research on sea voyage narratives. It was an unpretentious essay, in the old-fashioned, informal sense of that word, entitled *The Way of a Ship: An Essay on the Literature of Navigation Science* and written by Lawrence C. Wroth, Librarian of the JCB between 1923 and 1957. Wroth's musings on the relationships between adventurous voyages and navigation are interesting even when oversimplified, as in his comment on Viking voyages and Columbus: "For lack of a compass the Norse discovery of America became of no avail, but the rumor of it, tradition says, persisted to help in forming the ideas of Columbus" (18). The book's prime value for my work lay elsewhere because it grew out of an exhibition that displayed the Library's most significant holdings on navigation and seamanship. Thus it served as an authoritative, compact annotated bibliography, a compass laying down courses to the thousands of volumes listed in T. R. Adams and D. W. Waters, *English Maritime Books Printed before 1801 Relating to Ships and Their Construction and Operation at Sea*, and D. Elliott, *Maritime History: A Hand-List of the Maritime Books (1474 – ca. 1860) in the John Carter Brown Library*, both published by the Library.

Of particular interest was Wroth's survey of the evolution of the medieval portolano into the fifteenth-century portolan chart with atlas, often accompanied by portolan sailing directions, called "routiers" by the French and "rutters" by the English. Lucas Jansz von Waghenaeer published a breakthrough compendium entitled *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt* in 1584. It included a treatise on navigation, a description of its instruments, sailing directions and charts, and became so important to seamen that "waggoner" became a common noun among them. It was translated into English at the behest of Charles Howard, Lord Admiral, in 1588 and published as *The Mariner's Mirror*.

Wroth then describes and lists a number of important manuals of navigation derivative from Abraham Zacuto's *Almanach perpetuum* (ca. 1473–78), including the following (with a few additions from my own research):

Alvise Cà da Mosto, *Questa e una opera necessaria a tutti li naviga[n]ti*, Venice, 1490

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de Re de Spagna*, Venice, 1504

Regimento do estrolabio e do quadrante, 1509

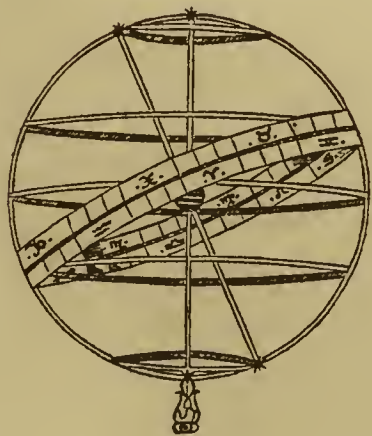
Robert D. Foulke held an Alexander O. Vieter Memorial Fellowship at the Library in the fall of 1993. At the time of his appointment he was a professor emeritus in the Department of English at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York. He is currently completing a book entitled *Sea Voyage Narratives*.

The Way of a Ship

An Essay on the Literature of Navigation Science

BY

LAWRENCE C. WROTH



PORTLAND, MAINE

The Southworth-Anthoensen Press

1937

Pedro Nunes, *Tratado da Sphera*,
Lisbon, 1537

Pedro de Medina, *Arte de Navegar*,
Valladolid, 1545

Martin Cortes, *Breve Compendio
de la Sphera y de la arte de navegar*,
Seville, 1561

Diego Garcia de Palacio, *Instrucción
Nauthica*, Mexico City, 1587

John Davis, *The Seamans Secrets*,
London, 1595

John Smith, *A Sea Grammar*,
London, 1627

Several of these works from the Library's collection have been published in the JCB's Maritime history facsimile series. In commenting on the first two in an introduction to their facsimile reprints, Felipe Fernández-Armesto describes the transformation of early medieval *periploi* aimed at merchants into later portolans of the thirteenth century addressed to seamen and filled with utilitarian information about navigating the Mediterranean, including piloting information about ports and sailing directions between them. He notes that portolan charts appeared about the same time and were more precise, speculating that they might have been more useful to illiterate seamen and that the written sailing directions might have come later, whereas the reverse is usually assumed.

In the fifteenth century there is much more attention to Atlantic coasts and, of necessity, tides. Diego Garcia's manual, the first published in America, expands the subject from navigation, both celestial and piloting in specified New World waters, to some matters of general seamanship, including naval architecture, rigging and equipment, the ship's organization and defence, and an elaborate glossary of nautical terminology. John Davis's *Seaman's Secrets* continues this tendency towards specialization; it is divided into two parts, the first dealing with "three kindes of sayling, horizontall, paradoxall, and sayling upon a great circle"; the second deals with determining tides and currents and finding the declination of the sun. By the time of John Smith's *Sea Grammar*, which covers only seamanship and more naval topics, increasingly complex navigational material had been separated out and relegated to separate treatises.

Though now dated in many respects, Wroth's unpretentious volume published in 1937 still provided useful descriptions of this evolution and some essential sailing directions through the vast collection of maritime books in the Library.

John Carter Brown Library Fellows, 1962 through 1995-96

The list below is in chronological order. The country indicated is that where each fellow was residing at the time his or her fellowship was awarded.

1962-1963	Lloyd A. Brown†	USA	1969-1970	Sacvan Bercovitch	USA
1962-1963	Joyce O. Ransome	USA	1969-1970	John E. Crowley	USA
			1969-1970	Jerry William Frost	USA
			1969-1970	Jack P. Greene	USA
			1969-1970	Edgar J. McManus	USA
			1969-1970	John J. Waters, Jr.	USA
			1969-1970	Robert A. Wheeler	USA
1963-1964	David H. Corkran, III	USA	1970-1971	Edward M. Cook, Jr.	USA
1963-1964	David B. Quinn	England	1970-1971	David S. Lovejoy	USA
1963-1964	Vsevolod Slessarev†	USA	1970-1971	David B. Quinn	England
1964-1965	Charles E. Clark†	USA	1971-1972	Robert D. Arner	USA
1964-1965	George E. McCandlish	USA	1971-1972	Ray Ginger†	Canada
			1971-1972	Yasuhide Kawashima	USA
1965-1966	Charles F. Carroll	USA	1982-1983	Gillian Kohl Bepler	Germany
1965-1966	J. B. Harley†	England	1982-1983	Mitchell A. Coddington	USA
1965-1966	C. William Miller	USA	1982-1983	Francesco Donnini	Italy
1965-1966	Christopher M. Rowe	England	1982-1983	Enrico M. Forni†	Italy
1965-1966	J. Benedict Warren	USA	1982-1983	James L. Fuchs	USA
			1982-1983	Lu Ann Homza	USA
1966-1967	Philip S. Haffenden	England	1982-1983	David B. Quinn	England
1966-1967	George A. Rawlyk	Canada	1982-1983	Alastair Saunders	Canada
1966-1967	Gwyn A. Williams	England	1982-1983	Richard C. Simmons	England
			1982-1983	Karen Stolley	USA
			1982-1983	John C. Super	USA
			1982-1983	Eduardo Tortarolo	Italy
1967-1968	Elizabeth S. Donno	USA	1983-1984	Urs Bitterli	Switzerland
1967-1968	Bruce B. Solnick	USA	1983-1984	Thomas Braun	England
1967-1968	Lewis A. Tambs	USA	1983-1984	Daniel W. Brown	USA
1967-1968	Klaus Weiss	Germany	1983-1984	Mary Blaine Campbell	USA
1967-1968	Marvin Y. Whiting	USA	1983-1984	Vincent Carretta	USA
			1983-1984	Carol Elizabeth Clark	England
1968-1969	William R. Tillman	USA	1983-1984	Furio Diaz	Italy
1968-1969	Hugh B. Fox	USA	1983-1984	Anne Whited Normann	USA
1968-1969	Benjamin Labaree	USA	1983-1984	G. Foster Provost, Jr.	USA
1968-1969	Darold D. Wax	USA	1983-1984	Lydia M. Pulsipher	USA
			1983-1984	Manfred E. Pütz	Germany
			1983-1984	Roger Craig Smith	USA
			1983-1984	James Robert Tanis	USA

† = deceased.

1984-1985	Marie-Noëlle Bourguet	France	1987-1988	Louise M. Burkhart	USA
1984-1985	Bernard Chevnard	France	1987-1988	Edwin Gaustad	USA
1984-1985	Della C. Cook	USA	1987-1988	Kazuhiro Kobayashi	Japan
1984-1985	Christopher Couch	USA	1987-1988	Pedro Lasarte	USA
1984-1985	James S. Cummins	England	1987-1988	Karol Lawson	USA
1984-1985	Oswald A.W. Dilke†	England	1987-1988	Murdo MacLeod	USA
1984-1985	José Escorcia	Colombia	1987-1988	Walter Mignolo	USA
1984-1985	David Barry Gaspar	USA	1987-1988	José Morales	USA
1984-1985	Julie Greer Johnson	USA	1987-1988	Michael J. Mullin	USA
1984-1985	Ursula Lamb†	USA	1987-1988	Anita Novinsky	Brazil
1984-1985	John P. Lerner	Scotland	1987-1988	Michael Palencia-Roth	USA
1984-1985	Bruce P. Lenman	Scotland	1987-1988	Keith Sandiford	USA
1984-1985	Carla G. Pestana	USA	1987-1988	Birgit Scharlau	Germany
1984-1985	Giuseppe Ricuperati	Italy	1987-1988	Edward Schnayder	Poland
1984-1985	Jerome Williams	USA	1987-1988	Eduardo Velez Bustillo	Colombia
			1987-1988	David Watts	England
1985-1986	Rolena Adorno	USA	1987-1988	Pauline Moffitt Watts	USA
1985-1986	Peter Bakewell	USA	1987-1988	Steven Wilf	USA
1985-1986	Philip P. Boucher	USA	1987-1988	Stephen Young	USA
1985-1986	Fred Bronner	Israel			
1985-1986	Jadwiga Bzinkowska	Poland	1988-1989	Henry Abelove	USA
1985-1986	Graham N. G. Clarke	England	1988-1989	Ramón Arzápalo	Mexico
1985-1986	John E. Crowley	Canada	1988-1989	Monica Barnes	USA
1985-1986	Warren Dean†	USA	1988-1989	Hortensia Calvo	USA
1985-1986	Jerome Handler	USA	1988-1989	Luca Codignola	Italy
1985-1986	Francis Jennings	USA	1988-1989	George Edward Connor	USA
1985-1986	Roger Joseph	USA	1988-1989	Oswald Dilke†	England
1985-1986	Harry Kelsey	USA	1988-1989	Robert Kent Donovan	USA
1985-1986	John Mulryan	USA	1988-1989	William Eisler	Australia
1985-1986	John Otto	USA	1988-1989	James Patrick Fenton	USA
1985-1986	Antonio Rodriguez-Buckingham	USA	1988-1989	Daniel W. Gade	USA
1985-1986	Michael Rozbicki	Poland	1988-1989	Raúl García Heras	Argentina
1985-1986	Geertrui Van Acker	Belgium	1988-1989	Alan Gibson	USA
1985-1986	Patricia A. Watson	USA	1988-1989	Jerome Handler	USA
			1988-1989	Jorge Hidalgo Lehuede	Chile
1986-1987	Ken Akiyama	Japan	1988-1989	Barry Higman	Jamaica
1986-1987	Antonio Benítez-Rojo	USA	1988-1989	John Kicza	USA
1986-1987	Bojan Besevliev	Bulgaria	1988-1989	Thomas Killion	USA
1986-1987	Richard Buel, Jr.	USA	1988-1989	Karen Ordahl Kupperman	USA
1986-1987	James F. Cooper, Jr.	USA	1988-1989	W. Michael Mathes	USA
1986-1987	Saul Cornell	USA	1988-1989	Margaret Newell	USA
1986-1987	John Morgan Dederer	USA	1988-1989	Daria Perocco	Italy
1986-1987	Angel Delgado-Gomez	USA	1988-1989	Giuseppe Ricuperati	Italy
1986-1987	Rick Hendricks	USA	1988-1989	Rudiger Schreyer	Germany
1986-1987	Jeffrey Dana Knapp	USA	1988-1989	O. Carlos Stoetzer	USA
1986-1987	Ivan Kupcik	Germany	1988-1989	Elizabeth Tucker Van Beek	USA
1986-1987	Robert E. Lewis	USA	1988-1989	William Wilkie	USA
1986-1987	Alexander Moore	USA	1988-1989	Daniel Williams	USA
1986-1987	G. Steven Ritchie	Scotland			
1986-1987	Massimo Rubboli	Italy			
1986-1987	Barbara Clark Smith	USA			
1986-1987	Avihu Zakai	Israel			

1989-1990	Pierre Boulle	Canada	1991-1992	Edward Harris	Bermuda
1989-1990	Lennard Davis	USA	1991-1992	Herbert Knust	USA
1989-1990	Jean-Jacques Decoster	Ecuador	1991-1992	Elizabeth Kuznesof	USA
1989-1990	Margarita Garrido de Payán	Colombia	1991-1992	Jerzy Litwin	Poland
1989-1990	Frank Graziano	USA	1991-1992	Carlos Mayo	Argentina
1989-1990	Bruce Greenfield	Canada	1991-1992	David Rosen	USA
1989-1990	Valeri Guliaev	USSR	1991-1992	Joan-Pau Rubiés	England
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1990-1991	Beatriz Schmukler	Argentina			
1990-1991	Uwe Schnall	Germany	1993-1994	Mordechai Arbell	Israel
1990-1991	Juan E. Tazón	Spain	1993-1994	Paolo Bernardini	England
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1991-1992	Robert M. Bliss	England	1993-1994	Michael Fry	Scotland
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1991-1992	Magdalena Chocano Mena	USA	1993-1994	Nora Edith Jiménez	Mexico
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1991-1992	Maria Cecilia Forjaz	Brazil	1993-1994	Dana Leibsohn	USA
			1993-1994	Jill Lepore	USA
			1993-1994	Luisa Martin-Merás	Spain
			1993-1994	Renate Pieper	Germany
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			1993-1994	James Romm	USA
			1993-1994	Alexander Sergounin	Russia
			1993-1994	Sergio Serulnikov	USA

† = deceased.

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1994–1995	Jay M. Eidelman	USA
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1994–1995	Maria Isabel Grañén Porrúa	Mexico
1994–1995	Eric Hinderaker	USA
1994–1995	Lieve Jooken	Belgium
1994–1995	Carol Karlsen	USA
1994–1995	José Mazzotti	USA
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1995–1996	Crystal Bartolovich	USA
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